

All Systems Go for Cassini Launch • States vs. HMOs

In These Times

INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

November 2, 1997

LETTING GO OF THE DREAM

African-Americans
Turn Their Backs
on Integration

SALIM MUWAKKIL REPORTS

PLUS

DOUG IRELAND
**Campaign
Finance
Deform**

JOEL BLEIFUSS
**The Right
Strikes Back
Against Labor**



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

\$2.50 Canada \$3.50

In These Times

A Gift of Reflection, Commentary, News and Perspective

Surely there is somebody on your holiday gift list for whom a subscription to *In These Times* would be perfect. Issue after issue, *In These Times* brings a bold and unique perspective to world events. Give that special person—or several of them—the gift of insightful commentary. Your thoughtfulness will be remembered all year long. Upon receipt of your order, we will send a special letter notifying the recipient that you have given a gift in his or her name. The first gift subscription is only \$29.95 for 24 issues; subsequent gifts cost even less. Simply fill in the form below, or call 1(800) 827-0270 for faster service.

Your name _____

Your address _____

Your city, state, zip _____

First gift: \$29.95 for 24 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City, state, zip _____

XX971

Second gift: \$19.95 for 24 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City, state, zip _____

XX972

Third gift: \$14.95 for 24 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City, state, zip _____

XX973

Fourth gift: \$14.95 for 24 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City, state, zip _____

XX974

I enclose a total of \$ _____ for _____ gift subscriptions. I understand that *In These Times* will send a separate card or letter to let the recipients know they will be receiving the magazine and that it is a gift from me. Please add \$13.00 per year for each gift sent to Canada or Mexico. All other foreign orders add \$33.00 per year for each gift.

☐ My check is enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

☐ Bill my Mastercard or Visa. Card number _____ Exp. Date _____

Mail to: *In These Times*, Customer Service, 308 Hitt Street, Mt. Morris, IL 61054
or call: 1(800) 827-0270

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein

Executive Editor: Deidre McFadyen

Senior Editors: Joel Bleifuss, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil

Culture Editor: Pat Arnow

Assistant Editors: Craig Aaron, Jefferson Decker

Contributing Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, Linda DeLibero, Annette Fuentes, David Futrelle, Juan Gonzalez, Miles Harvey, Diana Johnstone, Pete Karman, Chris Lehmann, Dave Mulcahey, Jeffrey St. Clair, Fred Weir
Editorial Interns: Alan Kimmel, Ulysses Smith, Norman Wishner

Art Director: Estelle Carol

Assistant Art Director: Jim Rinnert

Illustrators: Clay Bennett, Jennifer Berman, Estelle Carol, Peter Hannan, Terry LaBan

Web Designer: Demetrius Miles Brady

Publisher: Paul Obis

Associate Publisher: Beth Schulman

Assistant Publisher: Claudia Morris

Circulation Director: Jake Blankenship

Advertising Director: Patricia Gray

In These Times (ISSN 0160-5992) is published biweekly by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. (773) 772-0100. Member: Alternative Press Syndicate.

Subscriptions are \$36.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas).

Periodicals postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 308 E. Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 21, No. 24) published October 20, 1997, for newsstand sales October 20-November 2, 1997.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1997 by the Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher.

Copies of *In These Times* contract with the **National Writers Union** are available upon request.

Complete issues and volumes of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index, the PAIS Index and the Left Index.

Publisher does not assume liability for **unsolicited manuscripts** or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned.

All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the magazine. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form.

All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. E-mail: itt@igc.apc.org.

For customer service and to place subscription orders, call toll free: (800) 827-0270. Advertising rates sent on request. Available back issues are \$5 each; specify volume and number.

Editorial

Civics Lesson

The American left has a new hero, of sorts. He's Roger Tamraz, a Lebanese-American oilman who paid \$300,000 to the Democratic Party last year to get a moment at Bill Clinton's ear. Tamraz wanted Clinton to OK a pipeline from Russia to the Mediterranean that would have given him control of exports from the Caspian Sea, the richest undeveloped pool of oil left on earth. His wish, the granting of which would have been worth billions of dollars, was ignored. Still, he insists, he got his money's worth.

Tamraz told his story at a Senate committee hearing on campaign finance, where he proudly recounted how he got into the White House six times, despite warnings from the National Security Council (NSC) that he was a loose cannon. And while the senators sat in mock amazement, he gave the public a straightforward lesson in the way American politics is played in this era of democratic degradation.

The smell of hard cash in the form of soft money, combined with a history of shady dealings, was enough to lead a CIA official—the now famous “Bob”—and the Energy Department to override the NSC's objections to Tamraz. Even though he failed in his primary objective, Tamraz speculated that if \$300,000 was enough to buy a meeting with the president, maybe \$600,000 would persuade Clinton to do his bidding.

None of this should surprise the senators. He was only doing what many other big businessmen routinely do. Tamraz also gave large contributions to President Reagan—enough to give him “Republican Eagle” status. Still, he implied, he liked the Democrats better because in the Reagan White House he didn't have a chance. Compared to the big oil companies, which had Reagan and Bush in their pocket, he was a small fish.

Tamraz testified that he started his relationship with the CIA in 1973 and has had close relations with the agency ever since. But he saw the CIA as “a passive operation,”

unable to make policy, so he decided to go where the action is.

A man of some ambition, Tamraz was candid about the road to success. His money, he said, had produced potential benefits for him far beyond the pipeline project. He hoped that his donations might someday lead to a foreign policy post in Washington. After all, he noted, “a lot of our cabinet ministers and a lot of our ambassadors” have been large donors. “You know,” he said, “you've got Felix Rohatyn, who's ambassador in Paris, and [Treasury Secretary Robert] Rubin, who's a Cabinet minister. And they've all given much more than I have.”

The senators tried to play it straight. They fumed. They expressed outrage. At one point, Sen. Fred Thompson (R-Tenn.), the committee chair, boomed: “Do you think you have a constitutional right to have your business deal considered personally by the president of the United States?”

Unfazed, Tamraz said he was only playing the game. “I go to the outer limits,” he said. “Why not? You set the rules and we're following. ... This is politics as usual.”

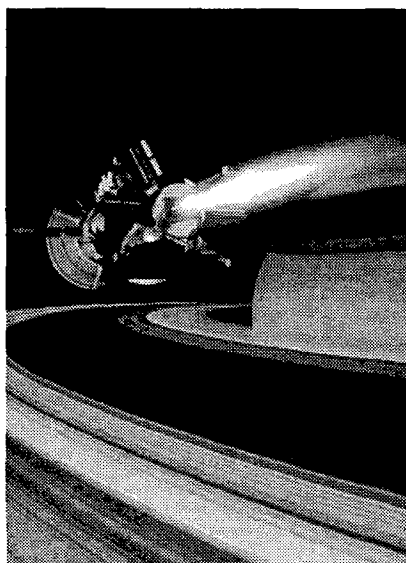
In a final effort to shake Tamraz, a senator asked if he had ever voted or registered to vote. No, he replied. “I think [money] is a bit more than a vote,” he added. “Thank god we're a capitalist society and there's nothing wrong with running after money.” That, after all, is where the power is.

And so we have the essence of capitalist politics distilled in Roger Tamraz. There is, of course, nothing new here. Tamraz said what everybody in Washington knows but nobody dares say in public. The amazing thing is not that he is proud of this system of political corruption, but that he is willing to tell it like it is. In doing so, he turned the tables on his senatorial inquisitors. By the end of the day, he had reduced several to mumbling and shaking their heads. A Senate investigative committee had at last found something truly subversive. ■

**Roger Tamraz
lectures the
Senate on
politics the
American way.**

features

- 13 **Color Bind: Letting Go of the Dream** BY SALIM MUWAKKIL
African-Americans grow disenchanted with integration.
- 16 **The First Stone: Defunding the Labor Movement** BY JOEL BLEIFUSS
The right tries to knock labor out of the political arena.
- 18 **Countdown to Cassini** BY ROBERT M. NELSON AND SANDRA M. DAWSON
The left media exaggerate the dangers of the NASA launch.
- 22 **Dams in Distress** BY G. PASCAL ZACHARY
The era of big dams draws to a close.
- 25 **Managing Managed Care** BY NINA SCHUYLER
As federal health care reform sputters, the states take on HMOs.
- 38 **In the End: Go, NAFTA, Go** BY SARAH ANDERSON AND JOHN CAVANAGH
A modest proposal for supporting fast track authority.



Cover design by Estelle Carol
Photograph by Richard Younker

news

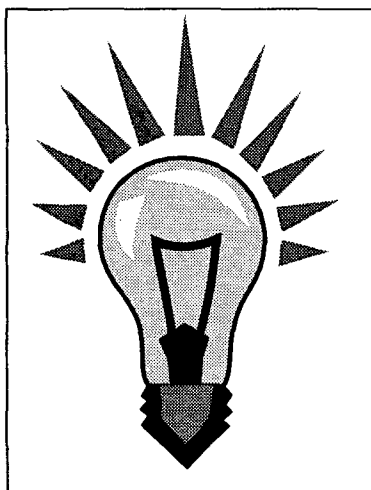
- 5 **In Short**
Furor over an all-girls school in New York, Bosnian elections, Russians search for the "Big Idea," the right rips up books.
- 6 **Appall-O-Meter** BY DAVID FUTRELLE
- 9 **Media Critic** BY KEVIN KELLY
Alan Greenspan has not changed his spots.
- 10 **Left Politics** BY JOEL BLEIFUSS

views

- 1 **Editorial: Roger Tamraz Teaches a Civics Lesson**
- 3 **Letters**
- 12 **Viewpoint: Campaign Finance Deform**
BY DOUG IRELAND

reviews

- 28 **Film: *Fast, Cheap & Out of Control***
REVIEWED BY JAN HEARNE
- 30 **Books: *Around the Block: The Business of a Neighborhood***
By Tom Shachtman REVIEWED BY CARL VOGEL
- 32 **Books: *Young Sidney Hook: Marxist and Pragmatist***
By Christopher Phelps REVIEWED BY JIM GILBERT
- 34 **Bookshelf**



Letters

Turmoil at Greenpeace

One of the reasons I stopped giving to Greenpeace ("Drastic Cutbacks at Greenpeace USA," October 5) is because they consistently fail to meet the "accountability and use of funds" criteria of the National Charities Information Bureau (NCIB). The NCIB is a nonprofit that publishes the *Wise Giving Guide*, which analyzes and reports on the leadership structure and financial statements of hundreds of prominent U.S. charities.

According to the NCIB, Greenpeace spends less than 60 percent of its annual expenses on program activities, maintains an unacceptable ratio of fundraising expenses to funds received, and does not include a functional allocation of expenses statement in its financial statements.

In the United States, individuals gave \$120 billion to charities last year. I want to make sure my small share of that money is used for its intended purpose.

Margaret Lamb
Boston

I am astounded and dismayed that Don Hazen would imply that high-level disagreements about philosophy and money were what led to the troubles for Greenpeace. What sank Greenpeace

was Executive Director Barbara Dudley's stand on the continued netting of dolphins through her support of the 1996 Stevens-Breaux bill and her convoluted attempts to explain her position (see "The Great Dolphin Divide," August 5, 1996). I, and a lot of other people, decided never to send them another dime.

Huldah Curi
Minneapolis

Still With It

Salim Muwakkil's article, "Roots: The Sequel" (July 14), emphasizes the need to build a greater presence of the African-American left in the struggle for equality. I agree wholeheartedly with that goal. The tradition of W.E.B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. must be revived and there are a lot of outstanding sisters and brothers who are determined to make that happen.

There was, however, one glaring mistake in the piece I wish to correct. He incorrectly described me as a "former member" of the Communist Party USA. In fact, I am a proud member of the CPUSA and have been consistently for over three decades. Currently, along



with Sam Webb, I hold the post of national vice chairman.

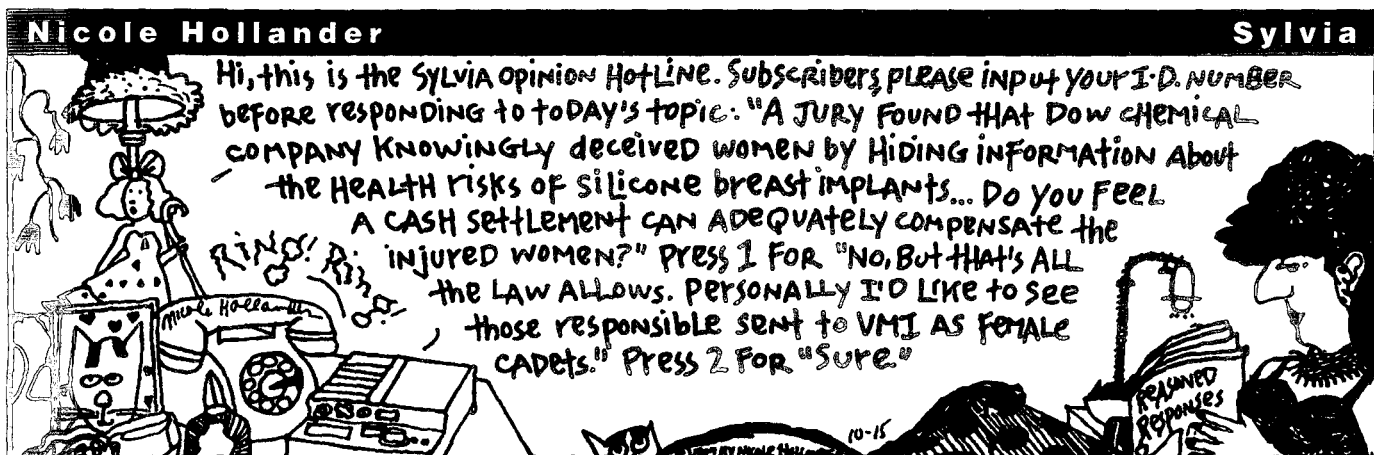
The Communist Party is an active part of the coalition that's initiating the Black Radical Congress. If all goes well, Chicago will be the site of the Black Radical Congress's June 1998 founding convention.

Jarvis Tynes
New York

Labor Curricula

It was great to see *In These Times* cover our new elementary-school labor studies curriculum, *The Yummy Pizza Company* ("See Dick strike. Strike, Dick, strike," August 11). But the article didn't give readers anywhere to go if they were interested in getting a copy, or if they wanted information on other labor curricula. *The Yummy Pizza Company* costs \$3, including postage, and is available from the California Federation of Teachers; One Kaiser Plaza; Suite 1440; Oakland, CA 94612.

Fred Glass
CFT Communications Director
Oakland, Calif.



Letters

Proportional Voting in Oregon

While Patrick Mazza ("Oregon Considers Proportional Voting," October 19) did a good job explaining the proposed 1998 ballot initiative, he left out some key facts.

First, the Pacific Party did not initiate the ballot measure. Rather, Oregonians For Free & Equal Representation (OFFER), a coalition of independent political parties and citizens, is promoting it.

Second, while it is true that "both the Pacifics and Libertarians have attracted over 1.7 percent each in statewide races," the same is true of the Socialist Party. In the 1996 election, two Socialist Party candidates—for secretary of state and attorney general—received over 2 percent of the vote each.

Finally, while proportional representation would certainly be helpful for independent parties, OFFER's campaign is geared toward emphasizing the benefits to voters and the democratic process. OFFER contends that proportional representation will allow each vote to count by allowing voters to move away from voting for the "lesser of two evils" toward voting for candidates and the corresponding public policies that reflect their interests.

Trey Smith
State Secretary/Treasurer
Socialist Party of Oregon
Salem, Ore.

Correction

Due to a printing error, the art credit on page 38 of the October 19 issue was missing. The illustration was by Sheila Flinchbaugh.

Please send letters to:

IN THESE TIMES

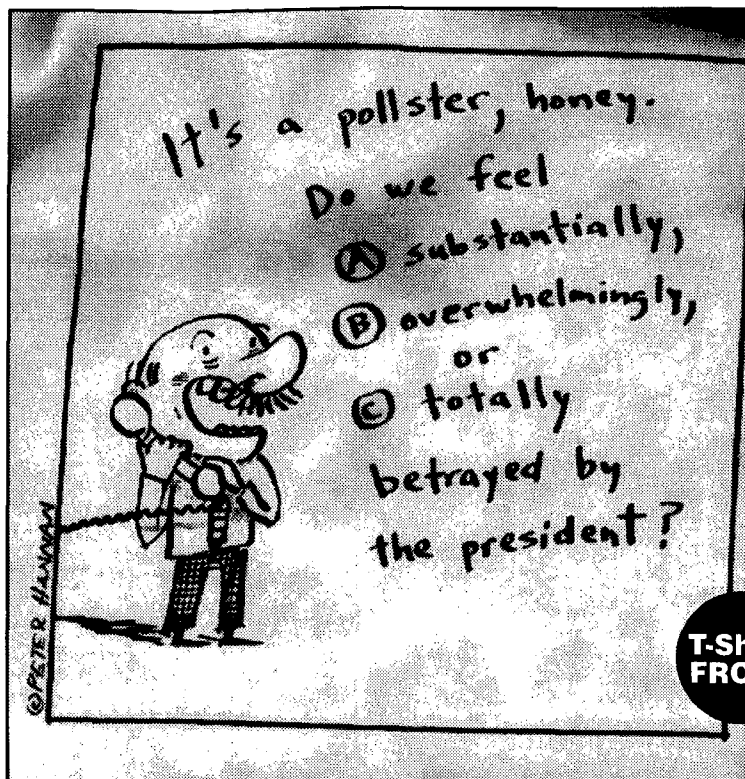
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.

Chicago, IL 60647

Or e-mail: itt@igc.apc.org

Please keep them short and include your address and daytime phone number.

Don't be LEFT out!



T-Shirt FRONT

Order your

NEW ITT T-shirt

Write: ITT T-shirt
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647

Don't forget to specify size and color combination.

Sizes: M-L-XL.

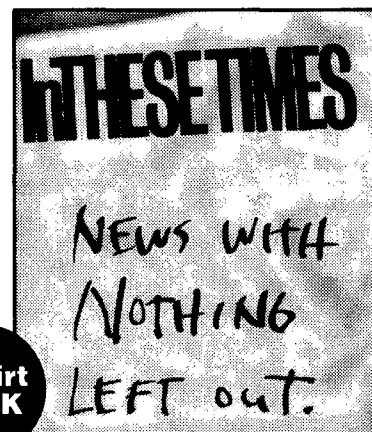
Two color combinations:

White on black or black on white.
100% heavyweight cotton

Just \$14.95

(Illinois residents \$16.95)

T-Shirt BACK



Why wait? Get yours NOW!

education

We Don't Need No Coeducation

BY ANNETTE FUENTES

An all-girls public school in New York City is center stage in a legal skirmish among educators, civil libertarians and women's rights activists. The debate is over how to give girls an edge in the classroom. But the controversy is also tied to a broader debate over the public school system itself, fueled by proponents of the so-called choice movement that favors public funding of private education with a voucher system.

Opened in September 1996, the Young Women's Leadership School in East Harlem was designed to provide high-achieving, low-income girls with an education free of the pressures and obstacles often found in a coed classroom. Enhanced math and science courses—the disciplines in which girls traditionally underperform—are stressed along with a collaborative, less competitive approach to learning. The teaching staff was originally all women, too, until one man joined the faculty this fall. Today, 165 girls in grades seven to nine are enrolled.

The school's fairy godmother is Ann Tisch, wife of the Loews corporation executive Andrew Tisch. She received institutional support from the city's Board of Education and ideological backing from the conservative Manhattan Institute, which promotes school choice and vouchers. While admission to the school is merit-based and supported by public funding, it furthers the Manhattan Institute's agenda by promoting a private school model that public education traditionally has not offered.

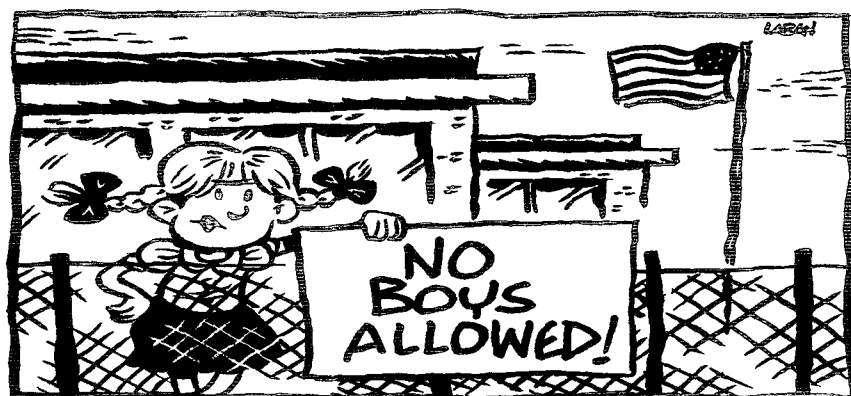
A month before the school even

opened, the New York Civil Liberties Union, the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the New York Civil Rights Coalition filed a challenge with the federal Education Department's Office of Civil Rights. The complaint argued that the school violates Title IX of the Civil Rights Act, which was amended in 1972 to prevent gender discrimination at publicly funded educational institutions.

The issue has divided many feminists and civil libertarians who can usually be counted as allies. "It is a bit of a shock

Coalition Executive Director Michael Meyers says, sex segregation is the wrong solution to educational inequities. "If we find discrimination in a coed classroom—the teacher calls on boys more, for example—we retool the teacher," he says. "You don't take girls out of the classroom."

On September 17, the federal Office of Civil Rights finally notified the city Board of Education that the Young Women's Leadership School violates Title IX, even though the law does not specifically ban single-sex schools.



©1997 TERRY LABAN

to people," says Anne Connors, president of New York NOW, of her organization's opposition to the school. "We've been raising the issue for 30 years that girls are shortchanged in the classroom. But we don't believe the government should say, look, this is public money and we're opening a public building and by virtue of some characteristic, you can't be admitted."

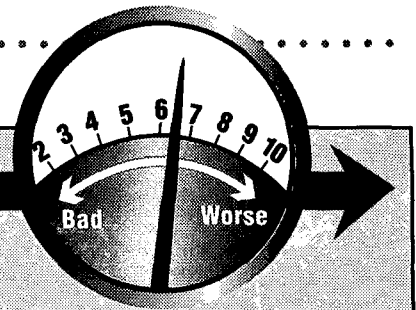
A 1993 study by the Education Department suggests single-sex schooling could be positive for girls but not for boys. No matter, New York Civil Rights

Spokesman Tom Lyon said the question they considered was whether all children were well-served by the school. Office of Civil Rights officials proposed two solutions: open the school to boys or create a comparable institution for boys.

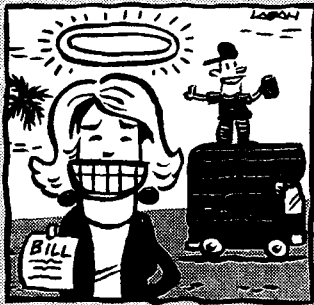
But the Board of Education has dug in its heels and nixed both scenarios. "There is no similar research to support an all-boys school," Board of Education spokesman J.D. LaRock says. "Admitting boys to the school would defeat the purpose." ■

appall-o-meter

BY DAVID FUTRELLE



The In These Times Index of Indecencies



©1997 TERRY LABAN

Field Trips 7.6

An assistant school superintendent in Dade County, Fla., billed the state for trips to five different "conferences"—none of which ever took place—in nearby Gainesville, where her son just happens to go to college. On the most recent occasion, Terri Kanov Reynolds says she had to rent a U-Haul to carry all the materials she needed for the conference. Oddly enough, the trip coincided with her son's arrival at school this August. When she realized there was no conference, Reynolds says, she simply threw out the extra material she'd brought along for it and returned home a few days later by plane.

Sure, Reynolds' actions might look a little suspicious, but don't jump to conclusions. She told the *Miami Herald* that she was the victim of a hoax—some mean, malicious person has repeatedly

sent her forged notices about conferences in Gainesville she was supposed to attend, tricking her *five times in a row*. "Something is very strange, and I know it," she told the *Herald*. "When I went up there and the meeting didn't happen, I knew. I knew somebody was trying to hurt me."

Step Right Up 8.4

What was the most popular attraction at the Los Angeles County Fair this year? According to a recent report in the *Washington Post*, it might well have been the Sex Offender Information Booth set up by Attorney General Dan Lungren. Advertised with a big sign ("Free Access to Sex Offender Information—Check It Out"), the booth allowed cotton candy-eating fairgoers to scan the list of 64,000 registered sex offenders in the California Justice Department's computer database for the names and faces of suspicious-looking neighbors. Never mind that such lists contain an enormous number of inaccuracies and don't distinguish between recently released child molesters and men arrested years ago for having consensual sexual relations with other men, back when that sort of thing could land you in jail. "[Older gay men] keep popping up in the database along with rapists and child molesters," one American Civil Liberties Union official told the *Post*. "They're

trapped in there because the computer can't tell the difference."

Finger Lickin' Good 6.8

Don't be offended if your supervisor leers at you lasciviously or regularly comments on parts of your body. Your boss might just be trying to boost office morale, the *Chicago Tribune* reports. A former Kentucky Fried Chicken worker—who'd quit her job in disgust after her manager suggested female employees get Colonel Sanders tattoos on their breasts—found her attempts to get unemployment benefits quashed by an administrative law judge convinced that lewd talk was just part of doing business. "Use of vulgar and obscene language and terms can serve to promote group solidarity," Judge Charles Schaefer wrote in his opinion. "To the extent that it was intended to promote this end, it would have been an effort to attain a legitimate business goal." ■

Stunned by a stupid statement?

Write to: Appall-O-Meter
c/o In These Times
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647
Enclose a copy of the appalling item.

welfare

Putting Children First

BY JEFFERSON DECKER

The Welfare Reform Act of 1996 was a triumph for conservatives. By focusing on the work disincentives anti-poverty programs inevitably produce, the right was able to tar government programs—any government program—as causing more harm than good.

But a recent post-mortem on the old welfare system sponsored by the Packard Foundation calls those conclusions into doubt. The report, "Children and Poverty," argues that government can do a great deal to help poor families meet their basic needs. While never

coming close to its goal of eliminating poverty, the report says, Great Society programs improved the living standards of millions of Americans and directly impacted the health and safety of children. For example, the widely criticized Food Stamp Program actually increased the amount of money that families spent on food and household necessities by 30 cents for every dollar. Moreover, the report notes that social scientists, while producing a thick bibliography on the "culture of poverty," have still done few quantitative studies of existing pro-

grams to see which ones help children.

The report rethinks welfare priorities. "Are children's education, health, and well-being important for their own sake, or only because improving outcomes in these areas is likely to enhance future earnings, national incomes and tax revenue?" asks Janet M. Currie, a UCLA professor of economics. If the former is true, she argues, then Americans should discuss how to most efficiently direct public resources to the kids—a debate that is strikingly absent from the current clear-cutting of the welfare rolls. ■

A Glimmer of Hope

BY PAUL HOCKENOS

In Bosnia, a country still ruled for the most part by totalitarian nationalist parties, the results of September's municipal elections inflicted a damaging blow to those regimes.

The new multiethnic composition of most of the 136 municipal councils across the country will not change anything overnight. But the election offers critical opportunities to advance the stalled peace process and increase the leverage of Bosnia's democrats. Some Bosnians are obviously thinking twice about nationalist agendas, a trend that could translate into a political realignment in future elections.

Since the signing of the Dayton peace accord almost two years ago, its full implementation has been blocked by ruling nationalists, most blatantly the Bosnian Serb and Croat leadership. Neither camp has given up its wartime intentions, namely to divide the country along ethnic lines and join each territory with neighboring states.

The fact that well-organized, internationally supervised elections took place at all, much less without a single incident of violence, is a victory over Bosnia's extremists and a clear signal that the international community's efforts are not in vain. Contrary to stereotypes of "Balkan savagery" and unshakable nationalist fanaticism, more than 75 percent of Bosnians went to the polls.

Almost as stunning as the turnout were the locations where Bosnians chose to cast their votes. Eligible voters could register to vote where they now live or where they lived before the war displaced them. Of the 2.5 million registered voters—nearly half of whom are refugees—89 percent chose to vote for governments in their prewar municipalities. Thousands even crossed borderlines to vote in person. The refugees will soon have their own representatives on local councils, possibly expediting

their return.

Across Bosnia, nationalist parties will still dominate municipal governments. But in predominantly Muslim-controlled parts of the country, multiethnic parties made striking gains. In Tuzla, for example, a city that maintained its multiethnic character throughout the war, Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats handed their wartime mayor a majority government despite a fiercely contested campaign, clearly reconfirming their commitment to peaceful coexistence.

In the Serb entity of Republika Srpska, only the northern city of Banja Luka clearly rejected Radovan Karadzic's party and other radical nationalist alternatives. But nowhere will Karadzic and his allies ever wield the same power as they did before. The Serb Radical Party, an ultranationalist movement led by an unrepentant war criminal, however, did score surprisingly well across the eastern part of the region.

The most dismal results came from Croat-controlled West Herzegovina,

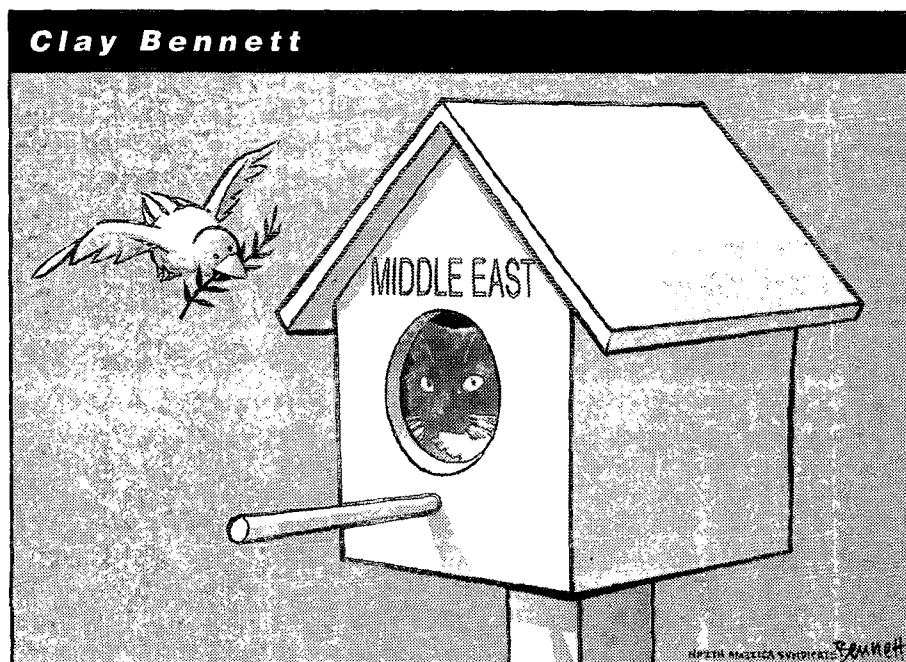
where the ruling Croatian Democratic Union preserved its near total domination. But even there, Bosnian Muslims will share power in some municipalities and Croat-based opposition parties received more votes than expected. The voter turnout in Croat-majority areas was the lowest in the country, a sign perhaps that Croats are not fully satisfied with their options.

The election results will not be easy to implement, particularly in places that were ethnically cleansed during the war and are controlled by nationalist hardliners. But a rigorous implementation plan is in place, and authorities who refuse to cooperate can have representatives struck off their party list, fines imposed and aid cut off. Albeit only a first step, this will be critical in reversing the status quo.

Bosnia is still a country where war criminals remain at large, freedom of movement is restricted and an independent media has yet to assert itself. Yet progress is clearly being made. After all, these were elections from which the nationalists had nothing to gain. ■

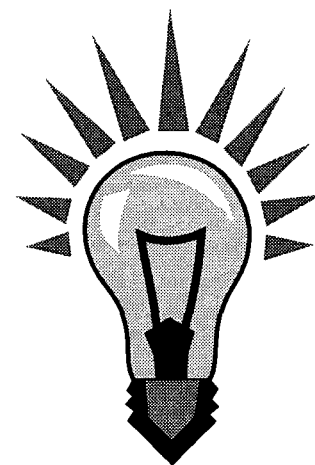
Paul Hockenos is media officer of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in northeastern Bosnia.

Clay Bennett



Hey, What's the Big Idea?

BY FRED WEIR



It's official: Russia is a country in quest of a fresh idea to guide it into the post-Soviet epoch and replace Communism, its former big idea, now deceased. Suitable suggestions should be sent to: National Idea Search Commission; c/o Mr. Georgy Satarov; the Kremlin; Moscow, Russia.

This is not a joke. The commission, which comprises a gaggle of Russian intellectuals, was formed by decree of President Boris Yeltsin last year, shortly after he narrowly defeated a tough Communist electoral challenge for his job.

Apparently dismayed that 42 percent of Russians would vote pro-Communist half a decade after the death of the USSR, Yeltsin gave the committee of historians, philosophers, journalists and linguists one year to come up with a "New Russian Idea." The winning entry, Yeltsin said, would be a concept that is "above politics" but nevertheless capable of "consolidating society" and overcoming the contradictions that still confuse and divide Russians in the wake of the Soviet collapse.

In late August, the Kremlin commis-

sion released its long-awaited preliminary report. The verdict: There are many ideas, but so far no "Idea." "World and historical experience has shown us that it is not just the national idea that is important, but the process of finding it, too," Satarov, a close adviser to Yeltsin, told journalists.

The committee's work has attracted ridicule from some quarters, but Yeltsin's flacks—and a surprising number of other Russians—take it with dead seriousness. "Russian society craves the elaboration of a central purpose, an idea that animates and directs us in this new epoch," says Nugzar Betaneli, director of the independent Institute for the Sociology of Parliamentarism. "Without a clear sense of identity, Russians always feel lost and despondent."

Russia's new political and economic elite are most in need of such an idea, given that their rapid rise to fabulous wealth and power has not been underpinned by any national tradition or much in the way of legal niceties.

"Basically this is a problem of legitimacy, and how to manufacture it," says

control over Russia's government. As if to underscore the precariousness of that achievement, a recent public opinion survey found that if the same putsch occurred today, more Russians would support the coup plotters than Yeltsin.

"Power may seem mighty, but it is very weakly grounded in Russia," Petukhov says. "The government does not control things, and when you come right down to it, cannot even explain to Russians why it is in power."

One rumor that keeps resurfacing in Moscow is that Satarov's commission was created to build a rationale for bringing back the czar. Some form of constitutional monarchy, with a corps of rich aristocrats to support it, is said to be in the wind.

"This is not as crazy as it sounds," says Yevgeny Pashentsev, a political science instructor at the Moscow Mechanical Institute. "Russia is already an oligarchy, with a single all-powerful central leader. In other words, the social structure already resembles the czarist one, but lacks any semblance of stability or tradition."

But can any idea, even a good one, arrest the economic collapse and social deterioration that have beset Russians since the demise of the USSR?

"The bottom line here is that 5 percent of Russians enjoy immense wealth while 55 percent live in dire poverty," Petukhov says. "If we want to consolidate society and bridge our social contradictions, we should start by addressing them with policies, not abstract ideas." ■



Vladimir Petukhov, an analyst at the Institute of Social and National Policy. "Having an official ideology is a great weapon for bashing enemies and settling arguments in your favor. Our present leaders feel they need this."

The commission's report fell within days of the sixth anniversary of the abortive August 1991 hard-line coup, in which Communist Party rule was destroyed and Yeltsin won effective

Media Critic

It's the Same Old Economics, Stupid

BY KEVIN KELLY

No one has ever mistaken Federal Reserve Board chairman Alan Greenspan for an economic maverick. Since taking over the Fed a decade ago, the mainstream press has portrayed him as a stalwart inflation fighter, poised to raise interest rates at the first uptick in prices. And while some publications wondered whether Greenspan held the reins so tight that he retarded growth, few ever questioned the chairman's anti-inflationary zeal.

Now, according to many press accounts, Greenspan has "shockingly" reversed himself. He's no longer a stodgy inflation fighter. Instead he has embraced the "New Economy"—the trendy economic notion that the United States can grow faster than once thought without igniting inflation. "The staunch conservative who once personified industrial-era economic thinking has turned into the avant-garde advocate," trumpeted *Business Week* in its July 14 issue. "People are beginning to doubt Greenspan's orthodoxy," chimed in *Newsweek* six weeks later.

Here's how the thinking goes. Greenspan has supposedly accepted the controversial idea that technology may be boosting productivity far above the anemic 1 percent growth rate reported in official government statistics. That means joblessness can fall without fear of inflation since wage gains would be offset by productivity increases. So with unemployment hovering around 5 percent—a full percentage point below the rate that two years ago economists thought would trigger inflation—Greenspan has sat tight, allowing interest rates to remain around 5.5 percent.

Business Week nearly lost its senses over the Fed chief's new posture. "Such are Greenspan's success and prestige that he has been able to carry the [Fed] into uncharted territory—by allowing faster growth and lower unemployment than

the Fed would have permitted in the past." His reticence to raise rates has *New York Times* writers clucking. "Such inaction could eventually chip away at the Fed's hard-won credibility as an inflation fighter," warned a recent article.

Actually, Greenspan's economics are a lot more orthodox than reported. He hasn't pressed an interest rate increase because inflation really isn't anywhere apparent. Inflation currently sits at around 2.8 percent, the lowest rate since the '60s. Wages aren't rising for a host of reasons, including global competition, the decline of unions and a working class used to anemic pay increases and layoffs. Competition for market share has made it harder for corporations to pass along price increases.

The Fed made this world possible. By pumping up the dollar during the last few months, the Fed has insured that cheap imports forestall any domestic price increases. How, after all, can GM raise prices when Toyota is cutting them?

If Greenspan were a real disciple of the New Economy, he would cut interest rates. The Fed chairman has argued that the Consumer Price Index overstates inflation by one-third. If so, that would

leave ample room for further growth—and perhaps some modest wage gains—before inflation became a real concern. Instead, real interest rates—interest minus inflation—remain higher than historical levels. Capital, while not reaping the returns it did during the '80s, is still pulling in gains twice historical averages.

And although the Fed hasn't raised rates over the last six months, the chairman insists that he isn't shy about doing so. During a recent speech at Stanford University, Greenspan noted that the Fed raised rates in March to protect against the build-up of inflationary pressures "and with labor resources currently stretched tight, we need to remain alert." Hardly the words of a radical. The Fed chairman may be showing "a softer side these days," as *Business Week* suggests, "talking privately about the social benefits of a low jobless rate." But don't think those feelings will keep him from throwing people back out of work should inflation rear its head anytime soon. ■

Kevin Kelly is an San Francisco-based freelance writer.

online

- In early September, the House narrowly approved continued funding for the School of the Americas (SOA), the notorious training ground for Latin American dictators and thugs. That setback hasn't deterred the School of the Americas Watch (www.derechos.org/soaw/), which continues its campaign to shut down the program at Fort Benning. This site provides a detailed list of the most heinous crimes committed by SOA graduates, copies of CIA torture manuals and regular news reports.
- The Government Accountability Project (www.accessone.com/gap/) is the best online resource for whistleblowers, with lots of links, valuable survival tips, news and legal updates, and an inspirational profile of the "whistleblower of the month."
- Douglas Giles' GOP In-Fighting Updates page (www.aquilapub.com/Infight.html) chronicles the continuing "conservative crack-up" on Capitol Hill. The pithy commentary ridicules Newt, Trent, Jesse and the gang for their baffling maneuvers and overall incompetence. While there's not a lot of exclusive information or brilliant insight, Giles rantings are less tiresome than say *The Weekly Standard*.

.....

censorship

Two Real Page Turners

BY PAT ARNOW

The guardians of morality found a straightforward way to curb sexuality in a pair of books recently—they just ripped out the pages.

Anti-abortionist Randall Terry exhorted listeners to his syndicated radio show in August to go to their local Barnes & Noble bookstores and tear up books featuring photos of young nude girls. He targeted books by photographer Jock Sturges, whose work Terry considers child pornography.

By mid-September, Terry's Windsor, N.Y., organization, Loyal Opposition, reported that concerned parents had protested at 28 bookstores. A patron complaint about Sturges' books at a Border's bookstore in suburban Pittsburgh persuaded the federal prosecutor to look into child pornography charges.

Vic Walczak, director of the American Civil Liberties Union in Pittsburgh, defends the books. "Simply depicting nude children is not and should not be a crime," he says. "There is a lot of illegal child pornography out there where children are being harmed. Focus on that problem, which really is a problem, not on this, which is art."

Sturges has faced trouble before. In 1990, the FBI confiscated 100,000 prints from his home in San Francisco. All of the attention on Sturges' work has resulted in robust sales. "It's ironic, when somebody is trying to stop sale of a title, that draws people's attention to the title, and it impacts sales," says Barnes & Noble spokeswoman Lisa Herling.

Seemingly taking a page from Terry's playbook, a Franklin County, N.C., school board ordered sex education chapters cut out from a health textbook in September. A volunteer took a razor blade to pages on marriage, parenting, sexual behavior, contraception and sexually transmitted diseases.

left politics

Voting for Nobody

BY JOEL BLEIFUSS

Politically alienated Californians may soon be able to bypass the candidates on the ballot and cast their vote for "None Of The Above."

The California right long ago mastered the state's progressive-era initiative process, enacting legislation that permits a minority of the voters to dictate property tax rates, bans affirmative action in state employment and denies social services to immigrants without legal papers. The left has had less success, since progressive ballot measures are usually quashed by corporate interest money. The Thousand Oaks Project, Ralph Nader's latest reform vehicle, wants to even the score, beginning with a nonpartisan initiative appealing to legions of disgruntled voters that should provide the group with an easy first win.

The Thousand Oaks Project was founded in September by Nader and Harvey Rosenfield, the author of Proposition 103, the 1988 ballot initiative that reformed the California insurance industry. Nader barnstormed California looking for 1,000 citizens "strong and sturdy as oaks to lead the fight for a new democracy." Taking a cue from his right-wing opponents, Nader says a new Californian democracy will be built via ballot initiative and referendum.

Thousand Oaks activists are drawing up plans to put a proposal on the 1998 ballot giving voters a "None Of The Above" (or NOTA) option in all state races for public office. Under the proposal, if a plurality of the voters vote for NOTA, the flesh-and-blood candidates lose. Then a new election is held, from which the losing candidates are barred.

Randy Kehler, one of the founding organizers of the FREEZE movement, which galvanized public opposition to the arms race in the '80s, thought about starting a NOTA movement in 1992, but decided instead to pursue structural reforms of the electoral system. "I don't think NOTA is the most important reform we can have," says Kehler, who now works as a consultant to Public Campaign. He favors public financing of campaigns and a proportional representation system.

"On the other hand," he adds. "Voters should have a fundamental right to indicate 'none of the above,' without sitting out the race." ■

Students around the state have been using *Making Life Choices: Health Skills and Concepts* for several years, but a state law has now taken effect that mandates that all school districts teach abstinence until marriage. A local board-appointed committee recommended abandoning the health text because the book advocates abstinence until the student is ready rather than married and uses the word "partner" instead of "spouse." Since teachers wanted to use the textbook for other

sections in the health course, the committee excised only three chapters.

Local opposition was unable to stop the page-cutting. Bunn High School principal Wayne Wilbourne describes the event as "shades of 1936 Germany," and at least one local doctor, who saw five teen pregnancy cases last month, says the state's new policy is a bad idea. "Obviously, the 'Just Say No' stuff ain't working," Dr. Al Sayles told the *Raleigh News & Observer*. "And the kids are just so uninformed, it's scary." ■

Minneapolis Voters Step Up To Bat

BY JOE PESCHEK

Minneapolis voters will get a chance to weigh in on the sports stadium debate in November. A ballot measure would amend the city charter to require a public referendum on any proposed city contribution of more than \$10 million for professional sports stadiums. At issue is the drive by Carl Pohlad, owner of the Minnesota Twins, and his corporate and political allies to build a new, publicly subsidized baseball stadium to replace the Minneapolis Metrodome.

Pohlad and other Twins officials claim that without a larger ballpark with more luxury features, the club will continue to lose money, forcing it to relocate to another city. In recent years, baseball owners in Seattle, Atlanta and other cities have used the threat of departure to pry loose public funding for new stadiums. Only in Detroit and San Francisco have owners agreed to pay more than 50 percent of total stadium costs.

Public opinion in Minnesota is overwhelmingly against public funding for the stadium. A St. Cloud State University poll in February showed that two-thirds of Minnesotans opposed using state money for a stadium. More recently, 74 percent of the more than 14,000 people who responded to a Republican questionnaire at the state fair in August said the state should have nothing to do with paying for a new stadium. Progressive Minnesota, an affiliate of the New Party, organized the petition campaign that gathered over 23,000 signatures to place the measure on the Minneapolis ballot.

A new retractable roof stadium will cost an estimated \$439 million. Pohlad, whose personal net worth is at least \$1 billion, offered earlier this year to contribute \$15 million and give the state 49

percent ownership of the Twins, valued at about \$50 million, if the state and the city of Minneapolis would kick in the rest. The state legislature rejected this plan. Now, a joint legislative task force is preparing a new stadium proposal for a special legislative session in late October, which was called by Republican Governor Arne Carlson, a supporter of Pohlad's bid. No plan has been finalized, but the task force will likely propose that Pohlad contribute as much as \$100 million, and the state raise the bulk of the money for the stadium through a combination of lottery revenues, slot machine proceeds and other "sin" taxes. Minneapolis also would contribute at least \$50 million in city land acquisition, land preparation and infrastructure improvements.

Stadium proponents have waged a well-financed campaign. Minnesota Wins, a pro-stadium lobbying group, has received funding from many large corporations and financial institutions, including the state's two largest newspapers, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the Minneapolis-based *Star Tribune*. Together the Twins organization and Minnesota Wins spent nearly \$300,000 last spring unsuccessfully lobbying the legislature to finance a new stadium.

Business groups opposed to the ballot measure in Minneapolis have also organized. Blois Olson, a political consultant, has formed a group called People for Progress, financed by downtown business inter-

ests. Olson claims that the November referendum is "anti-Minneapolis, anti-progress." Other business leaders contend that approval of the referendum will drive the Twins out of town, harm the city's economy and jeopardize future development projects. Progressive Minnesota leaders respond that the proposed charter change has been crafted to apply only to large-scale sports stadium subsidies and that the economic benefits of professional sports have been vastly oversold.

Progressive Minnesota expects to be outspent ten to one by the opposition. While campaigners express confidence in the public's support for the referendum, they'll be doubling their efforts down the stretch. After all, as every baseball fan knows, it ain't over 'til it's over. ■

Joe Peschek teaches political science at Hamline University in St. Paul and is on the steering committee of Progressive Minnesota.

Jennifer Berman

FAMOUS PEOPLE ON PROZAC

LEONARD COHEN



Campaign Finance Deform

BY DOUG IRELAND

Even though purging our politics of special interest money is the *sine qua non* for unblocking the clogged arteries of our democracy, too many progressives have pooh-poohed the revelations from the GOP-led Senate campaign finance investigation as a sideshow to the main business of governance. This is in part due to the success of the White House's public relations tactics in pre-releasing documents that would never have seen the light of day but for the subpoena-backed probing of Congressional investigators. That pre-emptive tactic allowed the Beltway mediocracy to dismiss the massive evidence of institutionalized political corruption as "old news" on the opening day of the hearings.

Though the committee chair, Tennessee Sen. Fred Thompson, and his Republican cohorts obviously tried to exploit their uncoverings for partisan advantage, one should never judge a book by its reader. Thompson unwittingly did the left a favor: The reams of material now on the public record illustrate what Minnesota Sen. Paul Wellstone called the "hostile takeover" of the Democratic Party by corporate America and the wealthy. The 1995-96 election cycle represented a quantum leap in our capital-intensive politics, with the national Democratic Party increasing its take of soft money a whopping 242 percent in comparison to 1992, for a total of \$123.9 million—nearly equaling the \$138 million raked in by the "party of privilege."

Thompson vitiated the public impact of his hearings by making exaggerated claims of a Beijing plot and by narrowly focusing on violations of existing law. All the while, he skirted the ethical sewer of influence-buying that the current system permits. But when the Senate committee hit media pay-dirt with the selling of White House access to fugitive oil financier Roger Tamraz, a bipartisan backroom deal abruptly canceled the next investigative phase of the hearings—proof that neither party's leadership really wants to end the incumbent-protection racket sanctioned by current laws. The prospects for structural campaign reform now seem dimmer than ever.

The Clinton Democrats are currently hiding behind the McCain-Feingold bill, which is widely supposed to ban soft money. Not so: It bans soft-money contributions only to the national party committees, not to state parties. This is a gigan-

tic loophole: For example, half the money Tamraz gave to buy his six White House chinwags with the president was directed by the Democratic National Committee to state parties. This would still be perfectly legal under McCain-Feingold. Keating Five-er John McCain (R-Ariz.) wants to run for president as a "reformer," and Russ Feingold (D-Wis.) is in trouble in his home-state polls, so both are desperate to pass legislation with their names on it to wave before the electorate. Under pressure from their respective party leaderships, the bipartisan duo have diluted their already weak bill even further by eliminating a ban on PAC contributions and scratching the provision of free TV time to candidates who accept spending caps. The revised McCain-Feingold bill limits so-called independent "advocacy" ads only in the 60 days before elections, meaning that the political calendar will simply be bumped up and the ads run earlier.

As if all that weren't bad enough, Minority Leader Tom Daschle has now signaled that the Democrats will accept an increase on limits of hard-money contributions in order to secure passage of a national party soft-money ban. This would be a disaster: A new study by the U.S. Public Interest Research Group calculates that raising the current cap of \$1,000 per election to \$2,500 would allow fat cats to flood the system

with \$318 million in new hard money, or \$56 million more than the current soft-money system allows. And soft money is only a small part of the problem, constituting one-eighth of the more than \$2 billion spent in 1995-96 on federal elections alone. Daschle's sellout means that any legislation that is likely to pass will spell campaign deform, not reform.

The Senate probe has a few scalps to hang on its belt: Thanks to its findings, Al Gore will probably face an independent counsel, dooming his presidential candidacy; and a federal grand jury is already investigating former GOP chairman Haley Barbour for perjury. But by the time the committee took up proposals for systemic reform from think tanks and citizen groups—with, as CNN noted, "more witnesses present than reporters"—Senate debate on McCain-Feingold had already begun, reducing the remaining hearings to irrelevance. ■

Doug Ireland is a former columnist for *The Village Voice*, *The New York Observer*, *New York* and the *Parisian daily Liberation*. His weekly "Clinton Watch" column is syndicated by the Minneapolis City Pages.

**Clinton
Democrats are
hiding behind
the vapid
McCain-
Feingold bill.**

BY SALIM MUWAKKIL

Letting Go of the Dream

African-Americans Turn Their Backs on Integration

The concept of racial integration was in deep trouble long before President Bill Clinton publicly lamented its fate.

At a ceremony marking the 40th anniversary of the desegregation of Little Rock Central High School in his home state of Arkansas, Clinton chided Americans for failing to make significant racial progress. "Far too many communities are all white, all black, all Latino, all Asian," the president said. "Indeed, too many Americans of all races have actually begun to give up on the idea of integration and the search for common ground." Clinton told the assembled crowd and cameras that "we must reject separation and isolation," but he offered no programmatic solutions or presidential initiatives.

Clinton was 11 years old when nine black students entered Central High surrounded by snarling white mobs. Were it not for the protection provided by federal troops armed with bayonettes, it would have been easy to imagine the crowd literally ripping apart the black students. Although the cameras stopped rolling after the students got inside the school, the harassment didn't stop. "We were slapped and kicked, thrown into showers, stabbed with American flags, showered with burning paper, hit with eggs and scalding soup," recalls Melba Patillo Beals, one of the Little Rock Nine. "I would be able to wring the saliva out of my dress after school."

The students entered the school over the strong objections of then Arkansas Gov. Orval E. Faubus, who had called out the National Guard to deter desegregation. The jarring images and powerful emotions that characterized that era are reminders of just how strongly many whites resisted integration.

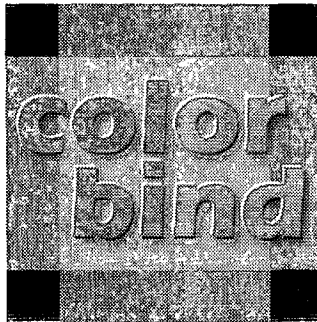
In fact, integration has never been popular among white Americans. When desegregation came, a white

exodus usually followed. Nevertheless, integration was the guiding principle for racial justice in the civil rights movement. Civil rights activists argue that the children of enslaved Africans are connected to this country by the blood, sweat and sacrifice of their ancestors, and thus have as valid a claim on the fruits of America as anyone. In fact, given the generations of unpaid labor they've contributed, their claim may be even stronger. The integrationist ideal was the moral currency of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. How, he asked, could a self-professed democracy condone racial exclusion? If America's racial reality reflected its founding ideals, we would be thoroughly integrated, King reasoned. That logic fueled his movement.

These days, however, increasing numbers of black people appear to be deserting the ideal of integration, frustrated both with its questionable benefits and its lack of mainstream support. This skeptical attitude is spreading among African-Americans across the ideological spectrum. For black youth like me, who grew up in the urban north, the specter of hymn-singing, dungaree-clad demonstrators passively acquiescing to the batons,

dogs and firehoses of racist white cops was not inspiring. We watched the humiliation of the Little Rock Nine on television in 1957 and vowed never to let anything like that happen to us. In fact, the revulsion that African-Americans felt toward those images of anti-black brutality helped fuel the turbulent spirit of the '60s and a re-embrace of the nationalist tradition.

It's no secret that Minister Louis Farrakhan, leader of the separatist Nation of Islam, is a fervent opponent of integration. "Racial harmony to me does not mean racial mixing," Farrakhan told Tim Russert on *Meet The Press* last April. "Racial harmony to me means mutual respect of one people for another." Nationalists regularly ridicule integrationists for what they charge is an irrational belief



that whites will magically change their anti-black behavior. Moreover, they argue, racial separatism provides African-Americans the isolation necessary to forge a distinct cultural identity.

Conservative blacks, like Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, also express doubts about the value of integration as effective social policy. Not only do conservatives have a deep ideological aversion to federal mandates on issues of voluntary associations, but they oppose the policy for its racial symbolism as well. "It never ceases to amaze me that the courts are so willing to assume that anything that is predominately black must be inferior," wrote Thomas in *Missouri v. Jenkins*, a recent decision dealing with issues of school desegregation in Kansas City, Mo.

But the anti-integration arguments are now attracting blacks outside the nationalist and conservative folds. "Many people do not recognize dividends from our investment in the integration ideal," says Christopher Edley, a Harvard Law School professor and adviser to President Clinton's task force on race relations. "There certainly are dividends, but they're distributed unevenly [among black Americans]."

In retrospect, some civil rights activists now view the struggle for integration as a quest for fools' gold. Whites often simply fled when forced to desegregate, leaving blacks as segregated as when "separate but equal" facilities were legal. "Some black people are turning against integration, in many cases, because integration never happened," says Mark Allen, field director for Jesse Jackson's Rainbow/PUSH Coalition. A report released last April by the Harvard Project on School Desegregation found that "we are moving backward toward greater separation rather than pressing gradually forward as we were between the 1950s and the mid-1980s for black students."

What's more, the logistics of school integration have soured many blacks on the concept. In most instances, integration meant busing black students into white schools. Many black parents resented the fact that their children bore the brunt of those busing programs. There were attempts to bus more suburban students into urban districts but those efforts were killed by the Supreme Court's 1973 *Milliken v. Bradley* decision, which invalidated "metropolitan" busing plans.

The Rev. Raymond Hammond, a black Boston minister who is a member of the city's influential Ten Point Coalition, a highly effective anti-crime social services group, says

African-Americans are increasingly asking, "What do I have to give up to be integrated?" Some blacks argue that the struggle for integration has diluted black power and deluded black people into surrendering black-owned institutions and businesses. When black leaders began focusing their attention on forcing black students to serve as shock troops for the civil rights struggle, they abandoned black control of schools and other community institutions that were the byproducts of segregation but were also the natural foundations of political leverage in the struggle for power and autonomy.

Since the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, *Brown v. Board of Education*, which broke the back of school segregation, a number of historically black colleges have become predominantly white. According to Reginald Wilson, senior scholar at the American Council on Education, West Virginia State Uni-

versity is now 85 percent white, Bluefield State College in Virginia is 75 percent white and Lincoln University in Missouri is more than 50 percent white. "We fought for desegregation," says Wilson, who is black. "I suppose it comes as a shock to some that the rule applies to black schools as well."

"As it was implemented in the South," wrote Harold Cruse, professor emeritus of history at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, in his 1987 book *Plural But Equal*, "the *Brown* decision eliminated black teachers, black principals, black administrators, a whole generation of experienced administrative public school personnel made superfluous by integration." A 1994 report by the Race Relations Information Center in

Nashville, which studied this aspect of segregation, found that southern and border states saw a loss of more than half of the existing black principals and the dismissal of more than 6,000 black teachers the year after *Brown* was issued. Cruse is convinced that "the progress of racial integration as public policy can be seen as a process that has left the majority of the black population stranded and stalled at the edges of power while the inner sanctums were protected from change."

Blacks are now asking themselves whether it is worth seeking racial integration just for integration's sake. "More and more blacks are questioning the so-called 'proximity premise,' that is the notion that merely sitting in the same classroom with whites somehow connotes educational quality," explains Michael Eric Dyson, author of *Race-Rules: Navigating the Color Line* and a visiting professor of African-



American Studies at Columbia University.

Integration's unintended consequences have turned many liberal African-Americans against the policy as well. Desegregation strategies allowed many working-class and middle-class blacks to leave inner-city neighborhoods for greener pastures. But they left behind communities bereft of the human and economic resources they provided, causing a black "brain drain" that has accelerated the declining quality of life in these communities.

In fact, the fruits of integration seem so few these days that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the very group that inserted the word into the public discourse, is beginning to move gingerly away from its bedrock tradition. The NAACP adopted integration as official policy in the early '40s, when it began pushing for an integrated military, and led the legal battle that culminated in the *Brown* ruling.

The NAACP has yet to take any official action yet. In fact, at the group's convention this summer, NAACP President Kweisi Mfume said, "The NAACP stands by its founding proposition of a single, fully integrated society for all of America." But there's no denying that the issue has provoked conflict within the group. Internal differences regarding school desegregation forced at least two branch presidents to resign. Kenneth Jenkins was dismissed as president of the NAACP's Yonkers branch in 1995 for noting that court-ordered busing for integration may have outlived its usefulness. "We need to evaluate what's working and what isn't working," he says. "Are we putting kids on buses just so we can say that we are putting them on buses?" Last year, the group's Bergen County, N.J., branch ousted Robert Robinson as its president for the same reason.

Ideological discord over integration is nothing new for the nation's largest civil rights group. In 1933, the NAACP ousted W.E.B. DuBois as editor of *Crisis* magazine, its house organ, for his seeming endorsement of separatist strategies. In 1990, executive director Benjamin Hooks found the group's tight embrace of integration so confining that he went outside the NAACP to help found the now-defunct National Association of Black Organizations, which sought to develop programs focusing on self-reliance. The Rev. Benjamin Chavis (now Minister Benjamin Muhammad), who became NAACP executive director in 1993, tried unsuccessfully to incorporate the nationalist perspective into the group during his 16-month tenure.

For blacks, the attraction of integration historically has risen or fallen according to the racial attitudes of the general public. When the mainstream seems more accepting of black inclusion, integration is a big hit. But when white reaction sets in, blacks move toward the separatist end of the spectrum.

In the 1890s, when the violence and dedication of the southern Redeemers began to turn back the gains of Reconstruction in post-slavery America, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner attracted thousands of followers to his black nationalist doctrines and "African Dream" strategy of repatriation. The widespread lynchings and other race-based brutality that

characterized the counter-Reconstruction period also fueled blacks' interest in the accommodationist separatism preached by Booker T. Washington. The racist exclusion that greeted the "Great Migration" of blacks from 1915 to 1929 when they arrived in northern cities from southern farms, coupled with the hostility that black soldiers faced when they returned from World War I, created fertile soil for the Pan-African nationalism of Jamaican immigrant Marcus Garvey. His Universal Negro Improvement Association, with its back-to-Africa agenda and black pride rhetoric, attracted the largest membership of any black American organization before or since.

With affirmative action under assault, school desegregation plans toppling and majority-black congressional districts ruled unconstitutional, it's clear that the forces of white reaction are solidly in the saddle. "Our ambivalence toward integration, while not unusual, is today quite dangerous because there really is a battle afoot," says Harvard's Christopher Edley. Like Garvey decades before, Farrakhan is riding the popularity provoked by white resistance to integration. "White resistance plays directly into the hands of Farrakhan's utopian nationalism," Dyson observes.

Despite African-American ambivalence about integration, there are few serious black analysts who would deny *Brown's* salutary social effects. From this side of the civil rights revolution, it may be easy to caricature the quest for integration as a misguided search for white approval or an embrace of Dyson's "proximity premise." But before the 1954 ruling started the dominoes falling, the barriers of racial segregation effectively excluded African-Americans from any meaningful exercise of national citizenship.

For the most part, however, black and white Americans still live in rigidly segregated worlds. Whites may pay public obeisance to the ideal of integration, but most have shunned its practical application. "No group in the history of the United States has ever experienced the sustained high level of residential segregation that has been imposed on blacks in large American cities for the past fifty years," write Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton in *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Sociologists have had to coin a new word—"hypersegregation"—to describe the increasing racial isolation of blacks in inner-city America. That's the United States that Clinton evoked when he told the Little Rock crowd that "segregation is no longer the law, but too often separation is still the rule."

Racial separatism and racial integration make up the dialectic that has fueled black people's history of struggle from the arrival of the first slave ship. Yet the ongoing attempt to strengthen black identity—which is the province of black nationalism—need not clash with a crusade for equal access. The drawback of integration is that it has induced a trance that has diverted the eyes of blacks from the prize of racial equality, self-determination and self-respect. The civil rights movement postponed blacks' insistent search for identity in favor of social access. African-Americans now enjoy more of the fruits of America than ever before. But what does equal access mean to a people psychologically debased by their own internalized racism and crippled by a chronic lack of resources? ■

BY JOEL BLEIFUSS

Defunding THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Right Takes on Sweeney's Resurgent AFL-CIO

Under the leadership of John Sweeney, the AFL-CIO deployed an unprecedented amount of resources in the 1996 federal elections. Organized labor once again mattered. Unions spent \$119 million on federal political activity in the 1995-96 election cycle, including \$35 million on AFL-CIO issue ads, \$66 million in campaign contributions and \$18.5 million on political lobbying campaigns, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Although unions were outspent by big business 7-to-1 overall, Democrats won one-third of the Republican districts directly targeted by labor. An organization that had acquired a Beltway bureaucratic style under former leader Lane Kirkland was once again relevant. After the election, Sweeney boasted, "We defeated 17 of the ugliest Americans ever to serve in the United States House of Representatives."

The ugliest Americans are now striking back. The right-wing media apparatus has been sowing seeds of anti-labor sentiment in hopes of dividing union workers. Under the guise of campaign finance reform, Republicans in Congress have put forth legislation that will effectively prevent unions from using members dues for political purposes. And ultra-conservative legal foundations are pressing on with a 20-year-old litigation strategy that aims to strip unions of their ability to lobby legislatures and participate in the electoral process.

Since his election in October 1995 to head the AFL-CIO, Sweeney has been demonized in the right-wing media. Kenneth Weinstein, director of the Heritage Foundation's Government Reform Project, has been coordinating the attacks through Union Watch, a loose coalition that includes the Christian Coalition, the American Conservative Union, Americans for Tax Reform, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Federation of Independent Businesses. In a July 1996 article in *American Enterprise*, Weinstein alerted readers to the fact that Sweeney is a member of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), a "bastion of anti-Americanism," and that his election to the AFL-CIO presidency was heralded by "the aging remnants of the Communist Party." Three months later, in a Heritage Foundation study, Weinstein noted that the Amer-

ican union movement is "gradually adopting the tactics of European-style labor socialism," which "is not surprising given Sweeney's political history" as "a card-carrying DSA member." (Earlier that year, Weinstein had told journalist Jim Young that Sweeney was going to be the object of what amounted to a redbaiting campaign for belonging to DSA and for moving the AFL-CIO from an organization "primarily representing Joe Sixpack" to one representing "minorities and inner-city people.")

Meanwhile, Raymond Keating, the chief economist for the Small Business Survival Foundation, was telling his members that "Sweeney's strategic alignment with other groups in demise, like social activists of the 1960s variety (socialists, left-wing academics, and various big-government groups), will only speed rather than slow, the decline of labor unions." And in the May 1997 issue of *American Enterprise*, Joel Kotkin explored "Sweeney's embrace of the New Left" and "his love-ins with leftist intellectuals" such as "Marxist radical Mike Davis, who boosts L.A.'s murderous gangs as proletarian exemplars." And he quoted an unnamed Detroit labor leader, who pined for the McCarthy era, as saying: "All the people we thought we got rid of 40 years ago are back in there. It's like the 1930s all over again."

The old right's distaste for unions is hardly new. But the strategists behind the ascendant new right consciously avoided attacking labor because they feared alienating the Christian right's working-class constituents. Now, needing the support of religious conservatives to resist a revitalized labor movement, the right's opinion-shapers are making Sweeney out to be ungodly.

Weinstein writes that under Sweeney's leadership "organized labor has decided to use its billions of dollars in dues revenue to defeat Conservative Members of Congress, while also encouraging Boy Scouts to admit homosexuals and atheists." Gary Thomas, in the July 1996 *Christian American*, explained to Christian Coalition members that Sweeney's AFL-CIO "big labor" agenda "often goes against pro-family goals." For example, the AFL-CIO funds "such liberal non-labor groups as the pro-abortion Emily's List and the Holly-



wood Women's Political Committee." And the Christian Coalition's Brian Lopina, director of the group's governmental affairs office, urged "pro-family union members" to "inquire about how their dues are being spent and challenge the liberal agenda being pushed by AFL-CIO leadership."

Having painted the AFL-CIO as the vanguard of the cultural left, the right then employed the political use of union dues as a wedge issue. When the 105th Congress convened in January, the Republicans were ready with legislation to defund the labor movement. The so-called Payroll Protection Act, which was introduced by Oklahoma Sen. Don Nickles and cosponsored by 32 other Republicans, makes it illegal for unions to use the dues collected from a union member "for political activities" including "communications or other activities which involve carrying on propaganda, attempting to influence legislation, or participating or intervening in any political campaign or political party" without the written consent of that union member.

Nickles argues that the legislation is a needed reform of the campaign finance system. "Every week, millions of Americans are having money taken out of their paycheck to contribute to candidates that they may well disagree with, but they didn't have a voice, a choice or an option," he said. "That is something that sounds like it might happen in some totalitarian state." But what really smacks of totalitarianism is the right's skillful use of deceptive political language. At hearings in June, Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.) noted that the Paycheck Protection Act "seems to be part of an emerging pattern in this Congress of bills with Orwellian names."

The Paycheck Protection Act has now been adopted by Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) who on September 29 proposed amending the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform legislation with it. Lott attached the measure, which had yet to be voted on when *In These Times* went to press, as a way to allow the Republicans both to kill McCain-Feingold and to save face while doing so. As Paul Gigot of the *Wall Street Journal* observed in a September column, "Republicans would be fools to ban soft money but give unions a pass."

Independent of the Senate's campaign finance debate, the House will soon consider the Workers Paycheck Fairness Act, an even tougher bill sponsored by Rep. Harris Falwell (R-Ill.). Falwell's legislation is a clone of the Labor Organizations Deductions Act, a model bill developed by the

American Legislative Exchange Council, a Washington, D.C.-based association of 3,000 right-wing state legislators. Versions of this legislation have been introduced in Arizona, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Montana, Texas and Utah. Washington and Michigan have already passed laws that ban automatic payroll deductions for political purposes without the employee's written consent, which must be renewed annually. In Washington, where such a law was passed by a ballot initiative in 1992, the Washington Educational Association saw the number of contributors to its PAC drop from 48,000 to 8,000.

Meanwhile, right-wing legal foundations are plying the issue in courtrooms across the country. "Unless we curtail the excessive political power of organized labor, the free enter-

prise system as we know it is destined for extinction in our country," warned Reed Larson, president of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Fund, in an October 1996 speech. Right to Work lawyers, with the help of the Pacific Legal Foundation and the Landmark Legal Foundation, represented Harry Beck in his 12-year battle against the Communications Workers Union of America. No worker is forced to join a union, but labor law allows unions to collect fees from workers whom they represent in contract negotiations. Beck, who chose not to join the union, objected to the Communication Workers spending his fees on political causes with which he disagreed. In its 1988 decision *Communication Workers v. Beck*, the Supreme Court sided with Beck, ruling that workers

who are not union members cannot be forced to pay fees to subsidize union activities "unrelated to collective bargaining."

Nine years later, the Right to Work foundation's 10 lawyers are working full-time in more than 400 court cases around the country, seeking to expand that ruling and prevent unions from using dues from union members for political purposes. They have already won favorable rulings in Washington and Michigan. And they have the support of *Wall Street Journal* editors, who argued earlier this year that "any new campaign finance bill must codify the *Beck* decision" since "ensuring some form of paycheck protection for workers is not merely desirable, it is the law of the land." Behind the rhetoric is a clear political agenda: "Paycheck protection" is one good way to cripple Sweeney's resurgent AFL-CIO. ■



Countdown TO CASSINI

The Left Press Exaggerates the Dangers of the NASA Launch

VIEWPOINT

BY ROBERT M. NELSON

AND

SANDRA M. DAWSON

A considerable controversy has emerged in the left press recently around NASA's plans to launch the Cassini Saturn Orbiter, the premier science mission of the decade for NASA and its international partners. The spacecraft is scheduled for launch in mid-October from Cape Canaveral. Its seven-year interplanetary cruise will first carry Cassini toward Venus and then back past the Earth as its trajectory spirals out toward its final destination, the giant planet Saturn. Once there, the spacecraft will enter into orbit around Saturn and conduct scientific research activities for four years.

The focus of the controversy is Cassini's power supply, which generates electricity from thermocouples warmed by the decay of 73 pounds of plutonium dioxide (isotope 238). Critics maintain that a launch-vehicle failure or a collision with earth while the spacecraft flies past on its way to Saturn present a risk of widespread plutonium distribution around the world. The intense debate has polarized former allies in the peace community.

The principal organization opposing the mission is the Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice. The main spokespeople in the anti-Cassini effort are Karl Grossman, a writer, Michio Kaku, a CUNY physics professor, and Helen Caldicott of the Physicians for Social Responsibility. On occasion, retired University of Pittsburgh epidemiologist Ernest Sternglass has joined them. Alan Kohn, a retired NASA facilities manager at Cape Canaveral, has also recently expressed his concerns about the launch. The critics have been published in *The Nation* and *The Progressive*. Three Web sites—*animatedsoftware* (www.animatedsoftware.com/cassini/index.htm), *lovearth* (www.lovearth.com) and the Florida coalition's homepage

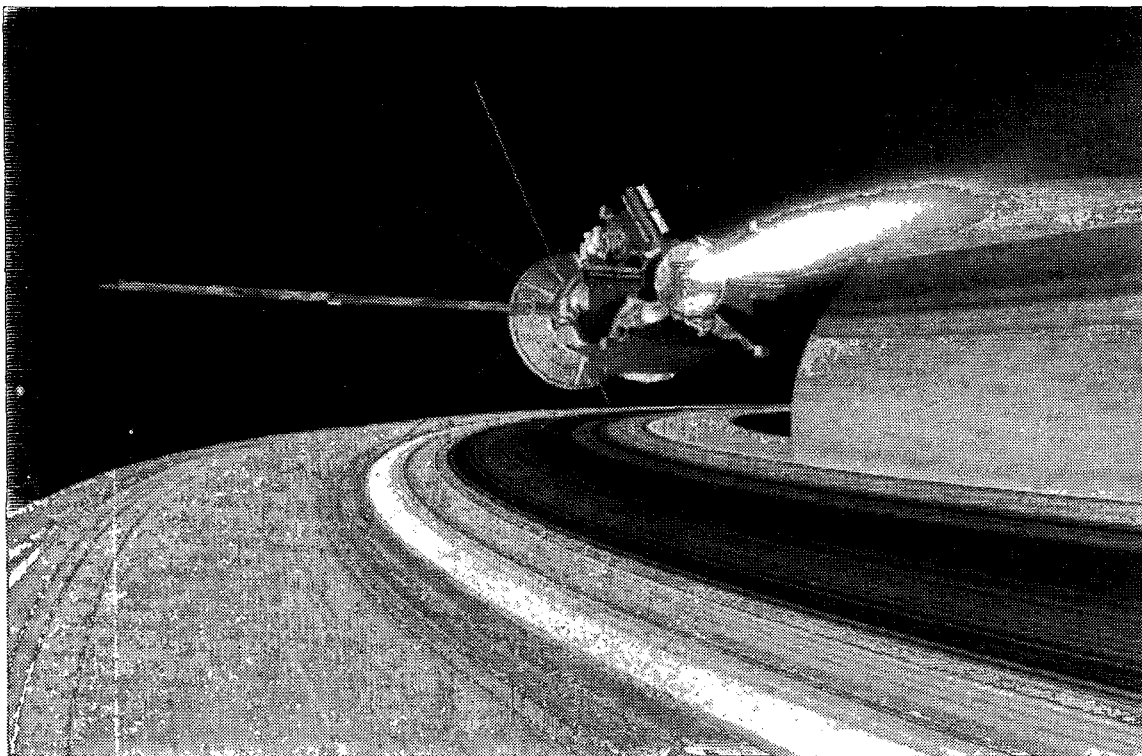
(www.afn.org/~fcj/space/cassini/index.htm)—are active in the stop-Cassini crusade.

Several organizations that played prominent roles in the national debates over nuclear weapons and nuclear power in recent decades have not participated in this anti-NASA effort. Most notable of these are the Federation of American Scientists, the Union of Concerned Scientists and the Natural Resources Defense Council.

The dispute centers on accident scenarios. NASA studies estimate 120 to 1,200 people would die of cancer in the highly improbable event that Cassini crashed into Earth. Kaku claims 200,000 people would die. Sternglass puts the figure at 20 to 30 million. Topping everyone, Caldicott claims that a plutonium release "could induce lung cancer in every person on the entire planet."

While the level of rhetoric has intensified, the level of rational analysis has deteriorated. In a recent debate on National Public Radio, Kaku called Otto Raabe, who is the president of the Health Physics Society, "a fringe scientist that doesn't represent the field of toxicology." The discussion reached a new low when the *lovearth* Web site recently calculated that when the earth fly-by velocity reported by NASA of 19.1 kilometers per second is converted to miles per minute, the result is 711.666. The Web site writer continues, "711 = gambling/craps, 666 the devil, 711.666, I couldn't believe it. Gambling with the Devil. If there was ever an ominous sign for the Cassini mission vs. earth this 711.666 flyby speed must be it."

At issue is the assessment of the risk associated with Cassini, as compared with the risk of other socially sanctioned activities such as generating electricity from fossil fuels. In



IN THE NEXT
YEAR, THE
EARTH IS IN
GREATER
DANGER OF
BEING HIT BY
A COMET OR
ASTEROID
THAN OF A
CASSINI
MISHAP.

such situations, we need to weigh the potential benefits against the risks in order to determine the social "comfort level" associated with the activity.

The Cassini mission will potentially teach us a great deal. Since the time of Galileo, Saturn has been distinguished from the other planets by the presence of its magnificent ring system. Galileo's successors found that the planet has a numerous and diverse population of moons in orbit about it.

One of these moons, Titan, is larger than our own moon and the planets Mercury and Pluto. Because of the relatively lower temperatures in the outer solar system, Titan has an appreciable atmosphere. Like Earth, its atmosphere is principally composed of nitrogen gas. Titan's atmosphere also has a significant amount of methane, which was an important constituent in the atmosphere of the early Earth. The evolution of life on Earth created the presently significant amounts of oxygen that animals currently breathe. Titan's atmosphere may be the closest approximation in the solar system to the atmosphere in which life evolved on our own planet. While no one should harbor illusions that Cassini will discover life on Titan, obviously Titan presents a fertile ground for numerous scientific investigations that may shed light on the conditions of the primordial Earth.

The other satellites of Saturn are also unusual when compared to our own moon and to the satellites that orbit Jupiter and Uranus, Saturn's nearest neighbors in the solar system. The surfaces of the Jovian satellites appear to have colors that are similar to one another. This suggests that their surfaces have common compositional or textural properties. This is also true of the moons of Uranus. By contrast, the colors of the Saturnian satellites are highly variegated, consistent with

the argument that the surface of each Saturnian moon is unique.

The unique nature of each satellite, combined with Saturn's extensive ring system, suggests that the Saturnian system was subjected to a major disruption relatively recently in cosmogenic time. Estimates of when this disruption might have occurred vary widely from perhaps as long as 1 billion years ago to as recently as a half million years ago, when humans had already evolved on the planet. The intense scientific interest in Saturn is due in part to the suggestion that the system is in recovery from such a relatively recent traumatic event, probably an encounter with a massive comet or asteroid.

Several years ago, the world watched in fascination as the remnants of the comet Shoemaker-Levy 9 smashed into the planet Jupiter. The recovery of the Jovian system from the Shoemaker Levy impact happened on time scales of months to years. The hypothesized impact that upset Saturn was far larger, and the recovery continues today.

In recent decades, geologic investigations have suggested that 65 million years ago, a massive asteroid or comet struck the Earth. In the ecological havoc that ensued, a majority of species on our planet's surface were extinguished, including the dinosaurs. The results of the Cassini investigations into the intricacies of the Saturnian system will ultimately factor into our own understanding of the changing environment on Earth.

It is not uncommon for scientific investigations to have broad applications to apparently unrelated areas of human importance. For example, the discovery of the highly publicized greenhouse effect, with the possible consequence of global warming, was first prompted by attempts to understand the planet Venus, a planet with an atmosphere rich in

carbon dioxide.

The scientists who are conducting investigations on Cassini do not promise to solve problems as heady as the origin of life nor will they provide a definitive prospect for the survival of life on Earth under the threat of asteroid impact. Each Cassini investigation will, however, help to narrow the very broad range of possible scenarios that exist at the present. Given this situation, what level of risk is acceptable in order to conduct these investigations?

The Department of Energy and NASA have extensively studied the risk associated with the plutonium radioisotope thermoelectric generators. NASA used this same type of power supply on Voyager, the grand tour of the outer solar system; Ulysses, the solar polar orbiter; and Galileo, the Jupiter orbiter and probe mission. Each of those missions had its vocal critics, but their impact was small given the big obstacles that faced the peace movement during the Cold War.

Like any government agency performing non-classified research, NASA must go through the standard environmental review process on any proposed mission. Cassini is the most scrutinized and reviewed planetary mission in history. These reviews have been conducted out in the open and not shielded by the cover of classification. Every phase of the spacecraft's development has been validated through the required peer and multi-agency reviews as well as through self-imposed independent reviews requested by NASA.

The law requires that NASA invite Cassini critics to review and take issue with the content of the environmental impact reports. However, the groups opposing the launch have not, after repeated invitations, submitted any peer-reviewed scientific arguments to support their claims. By their failure to respond to the opportunities for environmental review, the critics have undermined both their legal case and their case in the court of public opinion.

NASA calculates that there is less than a one-in-a-million chance that an accident could occur when Cassini flies by the Earth in 1999. There is a higher possibility of a failure at launch (one in 1,400), but the chances of a widespread plutonium dispersal from a launcher failure are considerably smaller. This is because the spacecraft is situated at the top of the launch vehicle and would not be damaged significantly in a launcher explosion. The plutonium dioxide, in its protective

shroud, would fall back to earth and be recovered.

The expected radiation dosage the average person would receive if Cassini crashes into Earth is one millirem (unit of radioactivity). During the years that we are waiting for Cassini to fly by, each of us will absorb 600 millirem of natural radioactivity from the Earth and from cosmic rays. People who live at high altitude or those who fly a lot will receive an even higher dose.

The adverse effects of a crash are so small that it would be a formidable challenge to measure them. There is a tragic irony here. In the next year, we are in greater danger of suffering a much larger loss of life from the catastrophic impact of a comet or asteroid than from a Cassini mishap. Yet, learning how planetary systems respond to catastrophic upsets would be one of the many byproducts of a successful Cassini mission.

The widespread skepticism that the left has for science has a credible foundation. The litany of atrocities committed in this century in the name of science is both long and broad. It includes eugenics, which became one of the foundations of fascism, and the Star Wars fantasies of Edward Teller.

Unfortunately, left skepticism can overstep reasonable bounds. Consider, for example, that fears of biotechnical Frankensteins have overshadowed the benefits of a "green revolution" in agriculture that now feeds those who once starved.

Cassini presents the world with a chance to learn. This entails a small risk that an enlightened left should be willing to take. ■

Robert M. Nelson is a research scientist at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif. He is one of several hundred scientists in the United States and Europe who will be conducting investigations on the Cassini mission. He has a long history of involvement in the scientists' movement to prevent nuclear war, including taking the lead in an unsuccessful floor fight at the 1988 Democratic National Convention to include a 'no first use' policy regarding nuclear weapons as a plank in the party's platform.

Sandra M. Dawson is an engineer at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory and the launch approval planning engineer for the Cassini mission. She was a leader of SANE/FREEZE and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in West Virginia.

ARGUING WITH THE RIGHT

The Center for Democratic Values, the think-tank project of Democratic Socialists of America, is holding its first national conference November 6-7 in Columbus, Ohio. It will feature a public Left-Right debate, sponsored by Capital University, with **Cornel West** and **Barbara Ehrenreich** vs. **David Frum** (*Dead Right*) and **Stuart Butler** (Heritage Foundation).

The conference will include historical and analytical sessions, plus skills workshops for contesting the Right's current dominance of American political discussion.

Contact: Ronald Aronson, Wayne State University
5700 Cass Avenue, Room 2426, Detroit, MI 48202
e-mail: raronso@crl.wayne.edu;
phone (313) 577-0828; fax 577-8585

ENVIRTECH, INC.



500% Growth
in last two years

RETAILERS/DISTRIBUTORS
NEEDED FOR STATE-OF-THE-ART

Filterless Indoor Air Purification System

REDUCES dust, animal dander, mold, mildew, VOC's, bacteria, pollen, viruses, smoke and odors. Portable units for home, office & commercial. VISUAL demo unit.

Low inventory-High \$ Profit.
Retail \$495-\$995. #1 MLM co.

CALL OR FAX JERRY AT:
888-471-4537 or Fax 303-469-0421

Voices on the Left

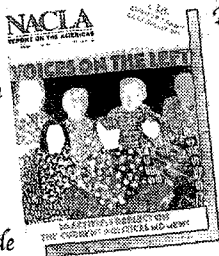
Interviews with 16 Activists

A NACLA 30th Anniversary Celebration

David Herrera
Graciela Fernández
Rafael Cancel Miranda
Sofia Montenegro
Benedita da Silva
Jean-Bertrand Aristide
Jorge Pavez

Lula
Martin Pumar
Rosalina Tuyuc
Don Samuel Ruiz
Linda Chavez-Thompson
Juan Valdés Paz
Cheddi Jagan
Pablo Medina
Raúl Reyes

Essay by Carlos Vilas

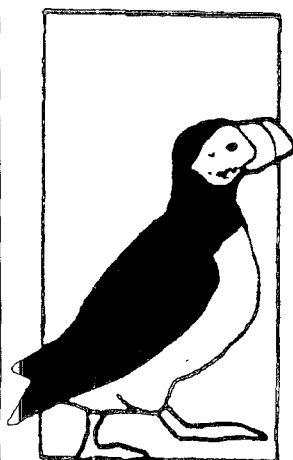


Through the lens of their own experience, activists from throughout the Americas speak to NACLA about the current political moment. What is the state of popular mobilization? What are the possibilities for change? Where is the left in 1997, and what are its prospects for the future?

Get a FREE copy of this special anniversary issue with your new (or gift) subscription to NACLA Report on the Americas. One-Year, \$27; two year, \$47. Please send check, money order or Visa/M-Crd details to NACLA, PO Box 77 Hopewell, PA 16650-0077. Tel: (212) 870-3146.

Puffin Foundation Ltd. 10th Annual Grant Search

The Puffin Foundation encourages a continuing dialogue between "...art and the lives of ordinary people." We are resolute in our support of those artists whose works, due to their genre and/or social philosophy, might have difficulty in being aired. We especially encourage new artists to apply for a grant.



Grants are made in all fields of the creative arts, including dance, theater, photography, fine arts, etc...

Applicants may apply for a 1998 grant prior to Dec. 31, 1997.

Average grants awards are \$500 to \$2,500.

For applications:
Puffin Foundation Ltd.
Department 1
20 East Oakdene Avenue
Teaneck, NJ 07666

Outlook Technologies specializes in

database **Designs**

and Internet Solutions.

Quality is a
trademark
of our **Products.**

Suite # 201

7257 W. Touhy Av.

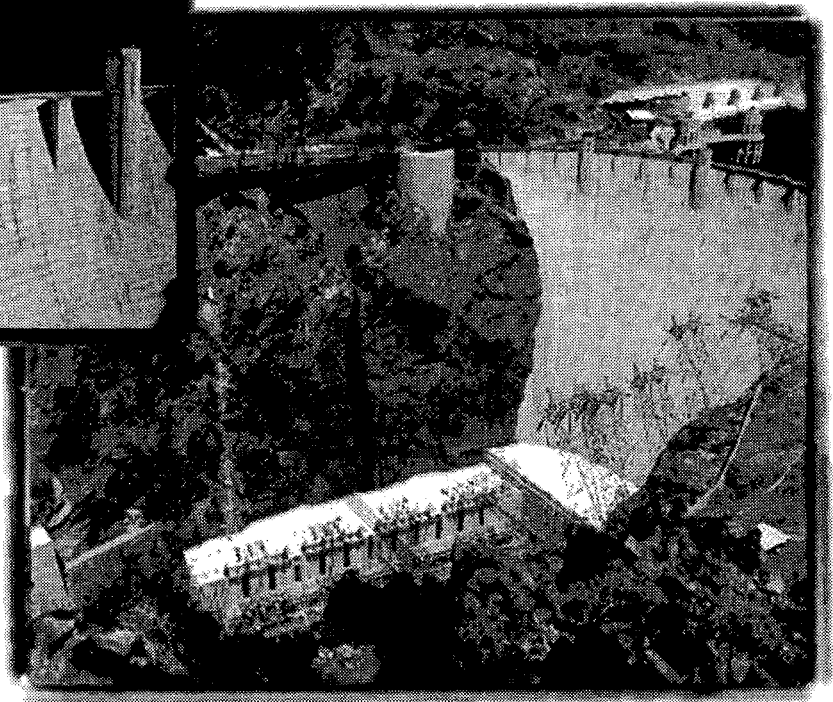
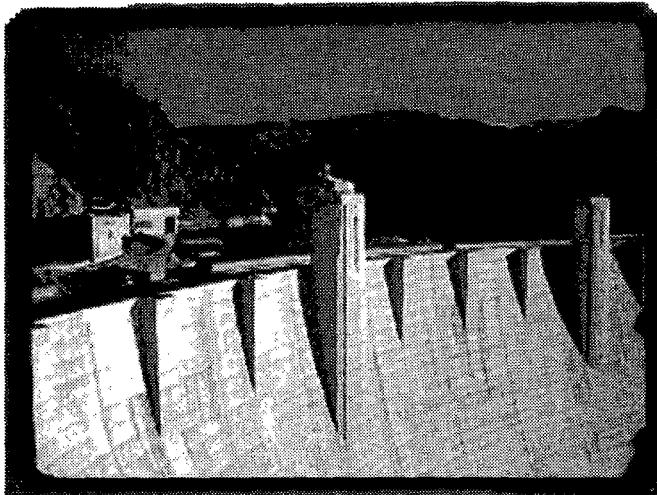
Chicago, IL 60631

773.775.1595

Dams in Distress

THE ERA OF BIG DAMS COMES TO A CLOSE

By G. Pascal Zachary



By halting construction of the Bakun Dam, one of the world's most potentially wasteful undertakings, the government of Malaysia has handed a victory to the worldwide movement against big hydroelectric projects.

Caving into growing criticism that the dam was uneconomical, Malaysia indefinitely delayed the \$5.5 billion project in early September. The government had planned to build the Bakun Dam over the next few years in the heart of a rainforest on Malaysia's part of the island of Borneo. It would have been the largest dam in Southeast Asia, flooding an area larger than Singapore. The electricity was to be sent to more populous western Malaysia via an underwater power cable hundreds of miles longer than has ever been built before.

Given the length of the cable, as much as 40 percent of the electricity could be lost in the journey. Meanwhile, nearly 10,000 indigenous people are being forced to move because of the project.

The government tried to save face by blaming an expected rise in the dam's cost because of the Southeast Asian currency crisis that has led to a 20 percent decline in the value of the Malaysian ringgit since early July. The government has vowed to resume the project, perhaps two years hence, but foreign observers say this isn't likely. "Given all the problems Bakun has run into, it will become more and more difficult for the Malaysians to build it," says Peter Bosshard, secretary of the Berne Declaration, a Swiss advocacy group that has monitored the project.

Even before the fall in Malaysia's currency, Bakun's backers—a local corporation with close ties to the Malaysian government—had repeatedly failed to attract foreign investment and even fired the Swiss contractor, Asea Brown Boveri (ABB), that it had hired to oversee construction. ABB, one of a handful of multinational corporations capable of pulling together a mammoth hydroelectric project, had come under intense pressure from European environmentalists to withdraw from Bakun. The company lost the prime contract when it refused to take financial responsibility for subcontracts beyond its control. ABB considered these subcontracts, which were managed by cronies of the Malaysian government, to be potential conduits for bribes to Malaysia's leading political party, UMNO.

The Bakun delay is a setback for proponents of big dams worldwide. Once icons of progress, big dams now symbolize waste, inefficiency and corruption. This is quite a turnabout. In the United States during the '30s and '40s, big dams were embraced by progressives for bringing cheap power to the masses. Woody Guthrie, the legendary folksinger, sang paeans to the Grand Coulee, the nation's biggest power-producing dam, built on the mighty Columbia River from 1933 to 1942. The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), which oversaw a vast network of hydroelectric power and flood-prevention measures in the impoverished South, became a model New Deal program. One 1934 study called the TVA the greatest experiment in regional planning outside Soviet Russia.

Attitudes toward dams changed dramatically in the '60s and '70s. Rather than cheer sources of electricity that reduced dependence on fossil fuels or nuclear power, environmentalists emphasized the vast physical destruction from dams and the recreational and spiritual benefits of unbroken rivers. Novelist Edward Abbey galvanized anti-dam sentiment with his 1975 novel *The Monkey-Wrench Gang*, in which members of a radical environmental group conspire to blow up a big dam.

By the '90s, anti-dam feelings in the United States were pervasive. Even Daniel P. Beard, the commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation, a longtime champion of dams, declared in 1994 that "the dam-building era in the United States is now over."

Not only are no new big dams planned for the United States (which has 75,000 dams of all sizes), but opponents are pressing the government to do away with existing dams. In what would be a major precedent, environmentalists seek to decommission the Glen Canyon Dam in northern Arizona and drain its 250-square-mile lake in an attempt to restore the canyon to a more natural state. The project would cost hundreds of millions of dollars and destroy a popular recreation spot. While opposition to the Sierra Club-backed plan is widespread, lawmakers held a hearing on September 23 to consider the possibility.

Despite the swing against dams in the industrialized North, the Southern Hemisphere is on the verge of going dam crazy. Developing countries, especially those without their own oil resources, desperately want cheap power, and they look at hydroelectricity as a gift horse. Dozens of mega-dams are planned for the most rapidly growing parts of Asia and Latin

America. The biggest of these dams are traditionally funded by a combination of government and international donors.

China has embarked on the largest dam in history, Three Gorges Dam, which calls for damming the Yangtze river with a structure 607 feet high and more than a mile wide that will create a reservoir 370 miles long. The mammoth dam, which is scheduled for completion 12 years from now, promises to halt devastating floods that have claimed upwards of 300,000 lives this century and to generate the equivalent output of 18 nuclear power plants.

While the leaders of developing countries extol the virtues of big dams, critics in the industrialized world say that the long-term costs associated with these projects are being ignored. Deborah Moore, a senior scientist at the Environmental Defense Fund, says that an examination of dams built since the '50s shows "a pattern overestimating economic returns and underestimating environmental and social costs." She adds that dams uproot native people, widen the gap between rich and poor in developing countries by steering power to cities at the expense of rural land, and provide opportunities for massive corruption.

The Three Gorges Dam, for instance, will displace nearly two million people, and costs could run as high as \$75 billion, according to Western analysts. The dam may well be an environmental time-bomb as well. Environmentalists say it will ruin scenic areas, threaten wildlife and trigger landslides and tidal waves because of fluctuating water levels.

In the '90s, activists in the United States and Europe have forced international aid agencies to reconsider their support for many dam projects, citing the adverse effects on local people and land. While these agencies still supply or guarantee billions of dollars for dam projects, they have made some notable concessions to critics. The U.S. Export-Import Bank last year snubbed China by refusing to guarantee contracts awarded to American companies that seek to supply the Three Gorges project. Germany effectively killed Nepal's plans for another dam when it withdrew promised financing in 1995.

Trying to prove that these projects are viable without funds guaranteed by individual governments or international lenders, dam builders have turned to private investors for capital. It is unclear, however, whether the market will grow more comfortable with the risks inherent in big dam projects. If Bakun's collapse is an indication, the answer is no. "This was the most audacious effort ever to privately finance a dam," says Patrick McCully, campaigns director of the International Rivers Network, a dam-industry critic in Berkeley, Calif. "This failure is a massive blow to the dam industry."

There is ample evidence that the project was a boondoggle in the making. Some local critics challenged government cost estimates, arguing that the price could double to more than \$10 billion. Activists in the Malaysian state of Sarawak, where the dam site is located, were angry that power from the dam would largely be diverted off their island and that the native peoples, who make up more than one-third of the state's population, would receive scant benefits from the development.

The government's resettlement scheme also drew criticism. "They are putting people into an area where other farmers and

hunters already live," says Harrison Gnau, a member of the Kayan tribe and an activist in Miri, Malaysia.

The government has yet to give even the modest cash payments that it promised to the 10,000 residents displaced by preparations for the dam's constructions. Some indigenous people now wonder whether they will ever receive their money. According to recent reports in the *Sarawak Tribune*, a daily newspaper, some of those displaced by the project are considering legal action. A lawsuit would be an unusual sign of defiance in Malaysia, where dissent is muted by custom and law.

Many Malaysians, however, still support the dam, despite the risks and the inevitable damage to the environment. Malaysia's cities, especially the high-tech center of Penang and the capital of Kuala Lumpur, need more electricity to keep pace with rising living standards.

The idea of the dam also holds an almost romantic appeal to many Malaysians, who are angry over what they see as unfair attacks on their country by Westerners. "You have dammed your rivers, so many that there aren't any left to dam, and now you tell us we can't dam ours," says James Ritchie, a Sarawak journalist who has written a book about Bakun and its effects. "That's hypocritical."

By building Bakun, Ritchie says, Malaysia has a better chance to strike a balance between "the forces of development and conservation." He envisions the dam as the linchpin in "a grand bargain" that would leave vast areas of Malaysia's rainforest off limits to all but what he calls "eco-tourists" and the native peoples sustained by traditional ways of life. "But to carry this off," he says, "we need power, we need development."

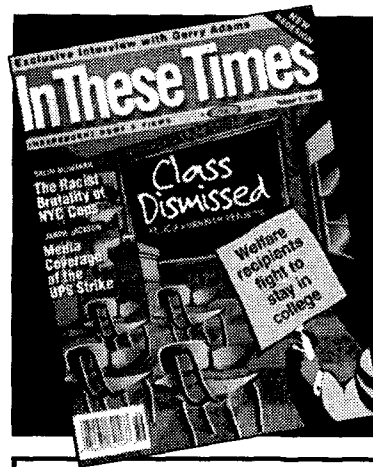
While this argument serves the interests of Malaysia's elite, the real challenge for the developing world isn't whether to shun dams or accept mammoth ones, but to select dams that support rural lifestyles while helping to ease power shortages in burgeoning cities. "There are many viable alternatives to get electricity, such as a series of smaller dams," says Gnau, who believes more modest projects could provide power without threatening the very existence of native villages.

Given the extraordinary shift in attitudes toward dams, activists think the time is ripe for an international commission to monitor them. In late September, a consortium of activists and aid agencies met in Washington to organize a World Commission on Dams, naming the water resource minister of South Africa, Kader Asmal, as chairman.

The goal of the commission is to issue a set of environmental, economic and social standards for big dams that would have some binding authority over international donors such as the World Bank. It will also look at the issue of reparations for people harmed by already completed dams.

"We're cautiously optimistic," says the International Rivers Network's McCully, an organizer of the commission. But he and others worry that the commission, like much else in the politics of dams, will come under the sway of big money. ■

G. Pascal Zachary writes frequently about labor, economics and technology. He is the author of a new book, *Endless Frontier: Vannevar Bush, Engineer of The American Century* (The Free Press).



Subscribe to ITT!

NEW SUBSCRIPTION.

You'll receive your first issue in 4-6 weeks. Please check price and terms below. **AST1**

RENEW NOW.

We'll extend your current subscription for as long as you like. This saves you worries about expiring and helps us save money and the environment by not sending renewal notices and bills. **ART1**

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

MOVING?

Fill out old address above, and new address below. Allow 4-6 weeks for change.

NEW ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

WHAT A GREAT GIFT IDEA!

(Just try and find a gift with more thought behind it. Fill out your name above and the lucky person's name here.) **XSTH1**

NAME OF RECIPIENT _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PRICES & TERMS

☐ One year, 26 issues of *In These Times*: \$36.95

☐ Six months, 13 issues: \$19.95

☐ Institutional, one year: \$59.00

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ MC

ACCOUNT NUMBER / EXPIRATION DATE _____

SIGNATURE _____

Canadian orders, add: \$27.50 (one year), \$13.50 (six months) postage. All other foreign orders add: \$41.00 (one year), \$20.50 (six months).

**Mail to: IN THESE TIMES Customer Service,
308 Hitt St., Mt. Morris, IL 61054
Or call: 1-800-827-0270**

MANAGING

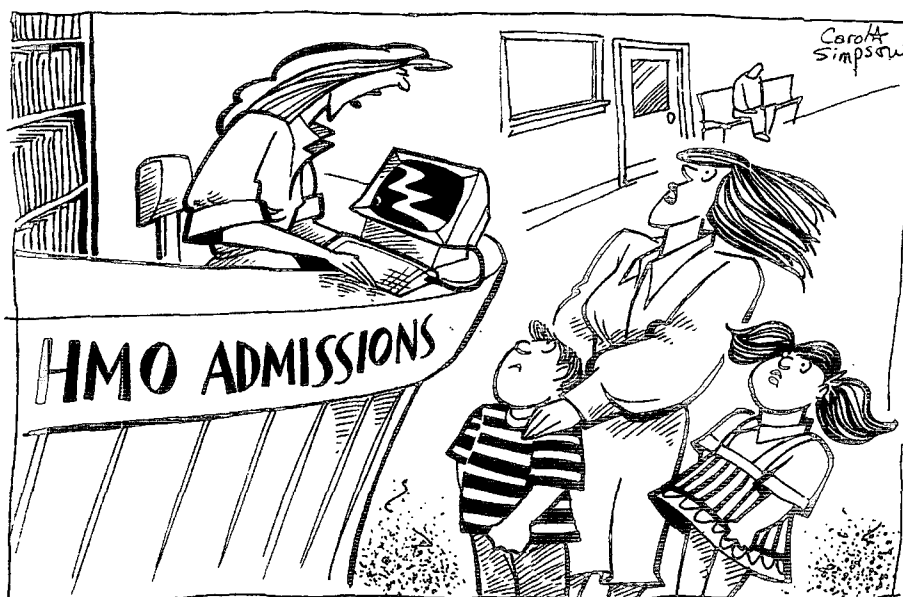
Managed Care

By Nina Schuyler

Q: *I just joined an HMO.*

How difficult will it be to choose the doctor I want?

A: *Just slightly more difficult than choosing your parents.*



"First, we'll need to do a CAT scan of your bank account.
That will be cash in advance."

The Internet has turned into a repository for jokes about the managed care industry. Most are pretty funny, until you remember that gallows humor is a way of coping with tragedy.

As membership rolls of managed care health plans have grown over the past decade to an estimated three-quarters of the nation's private sector workers, so have the number of consumer complaints. In response, state legislatures have passed a slew of new laws to regulate the industry. In 1996, 44 states proposed 1,200 bills that in some way regulated the industry, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures. This year, 49 states (Kentucky is the lone exception) proposed

1,000 bills, and 200 of these have been adopted as new laws.

"Managed care reform has become a bipartisan push because everyone is hearing from constituents that there is a problem," says Geri Dallek, director of health policy for the Families USA Foundation, a health care advocacy group in Washington, D.C. In fact, two states leading the HMO reform effort are New Jersey and Texas, both of which have Republican governors.

Industry observers say the move to reform managed care began in 1995, shortly after President Bill Clinton's national health care proposal fell apart. State legislatures stepped in and started passing laws to protect physicians who spoke out against the managed care system. Occasionally, a state would address the quality of care, but it would do so on a disease-by-disease basis. For instance,

in 1993, when Mark O. Hiepler of Oxnard, Calif., won a \$89 million verdict in *Fox v. Health Net* on behalf of his sister who had died of breast cancer after being turned down for a bone marrow transplant, the California state legislature passed a law requiring an independent review board to hear appeals from patients whose HMO denied them an experimental treatment. After hearing how HMOs were sending tired new moms home within 24 hours of giving birth, many states outlawed "drive-through" deliveries (and eventually, Congress followed suit).

This year, states have taken a different tact. The trend, says Molly Stauffer, senior policy specialist at the National Conference of State Legislatures, is to pass consumer protection legislation, with a focus on increasing patient access to health

As federal health care reform grinds to a halt, state legislatures are stepping in to regulate the managed care industry.



care services. Most states are enacting comprehensive consumer bill of rights laws. At least 33 states have drafted a consumer bill of rights and 17 have passed such laws, which include some or all of the following provisions:

- Requiring HMOs to hire enough doctors to reach a certain doctor/patient ratio
- Allowing a patient of a physician who leaves the plan to continue to see the physician for a certain period of time
- Allowing a physician to provide a referral to a specialist that is valid for multiple visits during a certain period of time
- Requiring the HMO to chip in for care provided by a physician who is not part of the network
- Providing more information to the patient about treatments and drugs that could remedy a particular health problem, but are not covered by the plan, as well as informing the patient about how the HMO's physicians are compensated
- Requiring that within a certain period of time, a plan must either grant or deny a referral to a specialist
- Establishing a grievance appeal process for patients who are denied treatment
- Banning the use of gag clauses that prohibit providers from discussing with patients treatment options that the health plan doesn't cover
- Allowing members who are willing to pay higher out-of-pocket costs to see out-of-plan providers
- Requiring HMOs to pay for emergency-room visits even for nonemergencies

A few states are reining HMOs in even further. Most states still allow HMOs to use an internal review board of physicians to review patients' appeals of denial of care. A handful of states, however, require an independent board to handle such grievances, though the HMO can usually still overrule the board's decision. Connecticut and Rhode Island have gone further, adopting a law that requires consumer appeals to be heard by an independent review board that issues decisions that are binding upon the HMO.

Texas is leading the way in HMO regulation, passing what is considered to be the most significant reform this year. In May, Texas doctors joined forces with trial lawyers to push through a law that gives consumers the right to sue health insurance plans for medical malpractice. Similar measures are pending in Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, New York and

New Jersey.

"The delivery of health care has changed over the past decade," David Sibley, a doctor and Republican state senator from Waco who sponsored the legislation, told the *New York Times*. "I can think of no reason why a doctor should be held accountable for a decision but an HMO should not."

HMO executives, however, say that they are beholden to only one law—the federal Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), a 1974 law that regulates employee benefit plans. ERISA allows a plaintiff to sue an HMO for medical malpractice, but to recover only the cost of treatment that an HMO denied, not punitive or any other damages resulting from the denial of care. Aetna Health Plans of Texas and other HMO officials filed suit against Texas state legislators, arguing that HMOs are extensions of employee benefit plans and therefore fall under the jurisdiction of ERISA.

There are proposals in Congress to change ERISA and remove the legal shield that HMOs claim protects them from medical malpractice suits. In the past three years, the Clinton administration has filed at least eight amicus briefs in medical malpractice cases, arguing that consumers should be given the right to sue HMOs in state courts.

But consumer advocates say Congress must do even more. For real reform to occur, they argue, the federal government needs to set minimum standards for the managed care industry. The state-by-state approach, they say, is patchy at best, sparking a concern that consumers in states such as Alabama or Virginia, which haven't done much in terms of reform, will receive worse care than people in New York or New Jersey, which have passed comprehensive reform packages. "We are creating a hodge-podge of regulations and laws," says Marc Wetherhorn, the southern regional director for Citizen Action, a consumer advocacy organization based in Washington, D.C. "Some consumers will be protected, but others will not."

So far, Congress has been slow to act. Instead of a comprehensive approach, such as President Clinton used in 1994, Congress has approached reform piecemeal without much success.

Initially, Congress seemed to be in the vanguard of reform. Last year's Kassebaum-Kennedy bill, which barred health insurance companies from dumping patients when they switched jobs, was overwhelmingly popular among both



Democrats and Republicans.

But since then, even seemingly shoo-in legislation hasn't gone anywhere. For instance, House Democrat Rosa DeLauro of Connecticut introduced a bill in January that would require managed care plans to cover 48-hour minimum hospital stays for mastectomies. Even though this benign bill, which was co-sponsored by Republican Marge Roukema of New Jersey, did not rally much opposition, it languishes in committee.

Democrats blame the Republicans, who, they say, have fallen victim to the HMO industry's threats that more regulation will bring higher health care costs. But Democrats are also to blame for the legislative stasis. They have failed to present a united front, with some Democrats concerned that the incremental approach to reform is not the best way to change the system.

In March, President Clinton created a 34-member commission, the Advisory Commission on Consumer Protection and Quality in the Health Care Industry. The commission includes representatives from both consumer groups and the industry. Its mission, according to Richard Sorian, deputy director of the commission, is to advise the president on how to change the health care system and to issue a report on how best to promote health care quality. An interim report is due this fall, and the final report will be released in early 1998. The report will only contain recommendations, however, and many advocates are concerned that the activity at the state level has taken the pressure off the federal government to act.

Still, advocates are trying to remain optimistic. "I am hoping that health plans will adopt it [the recommendations] voluntarily," says Peter Thomas, a Washington, D.C.-based lawyer who chairs the commission's subcommittee that is creating a consumer bill of rights.

The HMO industry, however, has its own plan, in part to head off federal and state regulation before it cuts too deeply into its profitability. The American Association of Health Plans, a managed care trade group with 1,200 members, has put together something called "Putting Patients First," a set of principles designed to meet the growing number of consumer complaints. The association has made the principles mandatory for its members. These principles, however, are vague. The document says, for instance, that "patients should have the right care, at the right time, in the right setting," and that "consumers have a right to information about health plans and how

they work" and "a choice within their health plans of physicians who meet high standards of professional training and experience." Nowhere are concrete rights spelled out.

If, however, states proceed with more regulations rather than letting market forces shape the industry, Smith warns that consumers must be prepared to pay higher health care costs and that the number of uninsured will grow.

But Dallek, of the Families USA Foundation, says the industry is talking out of both sides of its mouth. "They say to us, 'we already do all these things, we don't need regulations,' " she says. "But then they say if you pass this legislation, it's going to cost millions." Besides, she adds, although enforcing standards of better health care may make health insurance more expensive, it's worth it in terms of quality and safety. Dallek dismisses the managed care industry's argument that market forces will bring reform. "A lot of people don't have a choice of health care plans, so they can't vote with their feet," she says.

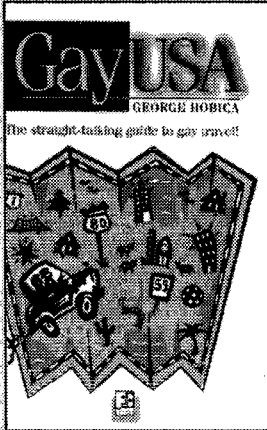
Health care plans with the youngest, healthiest members make the most money. "Because of this built-in incentive, you will constantly see those who really need health services and special care have problems with the system," says Thomas, from the advisory commission. "The market is not set up to help them."

Q: Do all diagnostic procedures require pre-certification by a primary care physician?

A: No, only those you need.

Somehow, it's not so funny anymore. ■

Nina Schuyler, a writer living in San Francisco, writes frequently on health care and legal issues for In These Times.



By George Hobica

★ Truly outspoken
—Arizona Republic

★ Candid and fact-filled
—Boston Globe

★ Most useful
—New York Times

★ Lively and well-written
—Travel Weekly

WHERE GAY MEN GO TO HAVE FUN!

Contact your local bookstore
or call First Books (773)276-5911

For more travel related publications visit us
on the web at: <http://www.firstbooks.com>

Boyhood Dreams

Fast, Cheap & Out of Control

Directed by Errol Morris

REVIEWED BY JAN HEARNE



Wild animal trainer Dave Hoover pursues his dream job in *Fast, Cheap & Out of Control*.

The thing I always have admired most about men is that the best of them retain a certain boyishness throughout their lives and feel entitled to it. Errol Morris' new film, *Fast, Cheap & Out of Control*, adds to my admiration.

Only a man who has held on to his childhood could have made this film. It is a documentary featuring a wild animal trainer, a topiary gardener, a robot scientist and a mole-rat specialist—boyhood dream jobs, all of them—but it is not necessarily “about” these men or their work.

This film's odd structure takes the traditional documentary form and stands it on its head. The narrative definitely is not linear; it is loopy and dissonant. The choice of images and interview subjects seems random and unrelated, leaving you to think there should be a new word coined to describe this kind of filmmaking. Morris, however, appears to be as relaxed about labels as he is about deliv-

ering a message. He has insisted that he purposely made a film that precluded a one-line summary. And the lack of well-defined genre—or even subject category—frees the viewer to sit back and simply experience the film.

And what an experience. One of the earliest images in the film is that of a clown clattering around the circus ring, trying to flee a skeleton at his back. That single brilliant image sets the tone. It's

tragically funny what we humans do: run through life trying to escape the death that's always at our backs. Some of us use our passions as an escape hatch. One thing the four disparate interview subjects share is the passion they have for their work—that focused intensity most of us lose at adolescence.

Three of the four decided their paths as boys. The wild animal trainer, Dave Hoover, now nearing retirement, wanted to be Clyde Beatty, the famous lion tamer and movie star.

Hoover's mother tried to discourage him, calling in the family priest to talk some sense into her son. Turns out, the priest was a circus lover and told the boy the world had to have lion trainers, too.

Ray Mendez, wearing a plaid shirt and a butterfly bow tie, looks like the ultimate science nerd; his outfit cries out for a pocket protector. Like a lot of kids, Mendez liked insects. He belonged to the entomology club. An admirer of the

complex, orderly societies of ants and termites and bees, he thought it would be cool if mammals lived like insects, but had been told repeatedly that it wasn't so. Turns out, recently discovered mole rats in Africa have a society like termites. So Mendez is devoting his life to photographing and developing zoo habitats for the hairless creatures.

Robot scientist Rodney Brooks liked to build things in a tin shed in his backyard as a kid. He's at MIT now, building robots that look a lot like insects. He describes the resemblance as being "pretty accidental, I think." Brooks, who is in his 30s, believes robots are the next step in man's evolution and looks forward to the day when man is replaced by machine.

George Mendonça, the topiary gardener, was a young man when he discovered his passion: creating and nurturing "Green Animals" at an estate in Rhode Island. Although his face is lined and creased by decades of working outside, he shares the same boyish intensity as the others. He also shares their strange compulsion to love nature by subduing it.

Morris clearly likes his interview subjects. There is never a feeling that he is holding them up to ridicule. And Morris went to great lengths to create a similar connection between the four men and the audience, inventing a camera system called the Interrotron to use in interviews. A series of cameras and teleprompters, the machine allows subjects to talk directly into the camera and see while still making the all-important eye-contact with the filmmaker.

Of course, this documentary is not just four talking heads. Morris, best known for his searing and strange documentaries, *The Thin Blue Line*, *A Brief History of Time* and *Gates of Heaven*, is much more experimental in *Fast, Cheap & Out of Control*. Along with the interviews and shots of the men at work, Morris intersperses scenes of circus life and footage from old B-movies like *King of the Jungleland*, *Zombies of the Stratosphere*, *Gobots* and *Gigantor*.

At first confusing, the footage soon takes on a sort of poignancy as we are reminded of that clattering clown and the death of childhood and its attendant dreams. We begin to realize that Hoover

and Mendonça's worlds may die with them. The fate of the "Green Animals" is uncertain; there is no one willing to follow in Mendonça's footsteps. Hoover's successor is a woman who is Clyde Beatty's antithesis. Instead of acting like the traditional snarling, whip-snapping animal tamer, this woman kisses her tigers on the top of their heads and pops them on the nose with the flat of her hand when they strike out at her—as if they were no more than overgrown tabby cats. Beatty wore a safari jacket; this woman wears latex and pink satin.

Morris and his director of photography, Robert Richardson, a veteran of several Oliver Stone films, use a variety of approaches to the photography, employing 35 mm, 16 mm, black-and-white, color and video transfer to film. This approach, which Richardson pioneered in *JFK* (for which he won an Oscar), doesn't seem overdone in *Fast, Cheap & Out of Control*. Some of Richardson's shots, particularly of Mendonça shaping his "green animals" like an aged Edward Scissorhands, are stunningly beautiful.

Caleb Sampson composed the movie's music, which is another key component of the film. The music effectively supports the film's moods and themes, even offering a seeming parody of the goofy theme music on *Unsolved Mysteries*.

All of the elements of this film, planned or unplanned, work together, and ultimately deliver a message, not easily summarized. *Fast, Cheap & Out of Control* isn't just about four boy-men with unusual careers. It also is about being alive and knowing, no matter how hard we try to distract ourselves, that we and everyone we love is going to die.

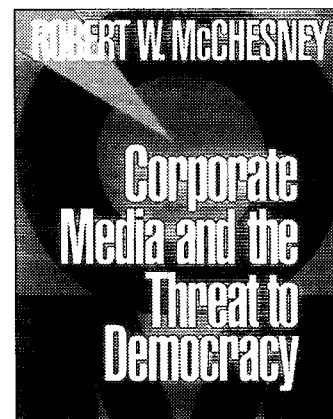
The only time we hear Morris's voice is when Hoover talks about Beatty's death from cancer. Morris asks from behind the camera, "Do you miss Clyde Beatty?" It's as if Morris, who dedicates this film to the memory of his mother and stepfather, is trying to reassure himself that he's not the only one among us grieving. ■

Jan Hearne is a writer in Johnson City, Tenn.

AVAILABLE from IN THESE TIMES

"In this fine study, Robert McChesney points out that the extent of public participation into communication policymaking is a measure of the level of democracy, and that the U.S. is achieving new records in decline of such participation. ... McChesney's work has been of extraordinary importance. ... It should be read with care and concern by people who care about freedom and basic rights."

—Noam Chomsky



ALSO...

The Decline of Socialism in America: 1912-1925,
by James Weinstein,
can now be ordered directly from *In These Times*.

Corporate Media and the Threat to Democracy \$4.95
The Decline of Socialism in America: 1912-1925 \$15.95

In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647
Add \$2.00 for shipping and handling

Economies of Scale

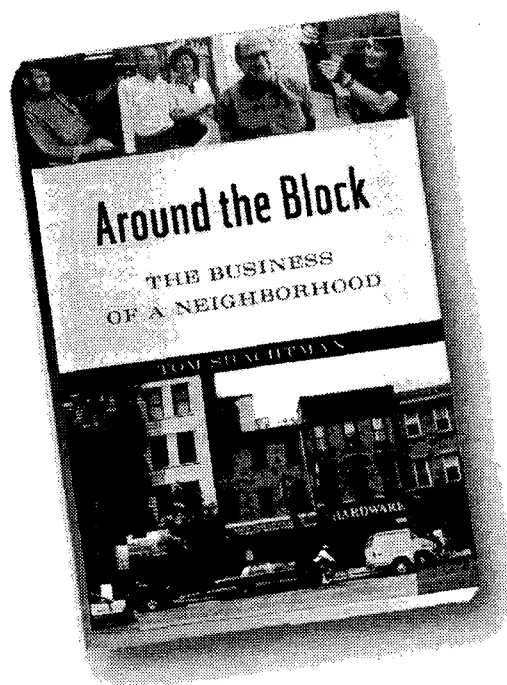
Around the Block: The Business of a Neighborhood

By Tom Shachtman

Harcourt Brace

325 pp., \$28

REVIEWED BY CARL VOGEL



Joe Hwang owns the House of Cheers liquor shop, although in his native Korea he earned a degree in the history of religion. Jean Rosenberg would like to expand her Chelsea Day School to include parenting classes. Louis Nelson has sold off ownership in a local video store to concentrate on running the Chelsea Gym, which caters to a gay clientele.

These entrepreneurs are part of the cast of Tom Shachtman's *Around the Block*, an entertaining look at one year of business on a square block on the edge of Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood. By examining the stores and services in this gentrifying community, Shachtman draws lessons about what small businesses need to survive and prosper. He also puts a human face on economic issues from corporate mergers to the rise of the service economy.

The block—between 17th and 18th streets and Seventh and Eighth avenues—which Shachtman studied for 12 months in 1993-94, provides a fine cross-section of small business. Shachtman estimates that about 2,500 people work there for more than 100 small

employers and three large ones: Barneys department store, Cahners Publishing and the Nynex telephone company. Another 2,000 people live on the block. The businesses fill the storefronts, and many more are housed above in old mid-rise office buildings and industrial facilities mixed in with apartment buildings. Shachtman estimates that the block generates \$1.5 billion in gross product each year.

Long-term changes in the economy are illuminated by their effects on the block. At the turn of the century, this block housed warehouses and was populated by stevedores and factory workers. The mix of businesses now on the block—diners, greeting-card stores, antique shops, etc.—reflects the decline of America's manufacturing base (and the flight of what was left to exurbia, with its cheaper land and labor). Only a few companies that actually create products remain—mostly printers. Meanwhile, Chelsea has become an upscale neighborhood, getting more and more expensive, with mostly white, well-educated and white-collar residents.

New York City and Chelsea certainly

aren't Anytown, USA. Yet the block in many ways reflects a small town's economy—with the notable absence of automobile-related business and fast-food franchises and the notable addition of a gay nightlife. Writing with empathy, Shachtman does a good job of finding universal lessons in the stories of these businesses. At Maxwell Lumber, owner Mark Bernstein grapples with how he can expand the business when his two children are uninterested in joining the family firm. The block's three delis carefully distinguish themselves with pricing and the products they offer. The Rosenblum/Harb architectural partnership got its first big break designing retail space for Barneys, but they work hard to build a more diverse client base. That ends up serving them well as Barneys files for bankruptcy.

Around the Block also shows the absurdity of much of the anti-immigration posturing going on among politicians. Like Joe Hwang, many of the entrepreneurs on the block are immigrants: a restaurateur from Italy, a printer from India, a musical composer from Russia. These new Americans are creat-

ing jobs for others, providing needed services and paying taxes. They are far from a drain on economic and social life.

Keeping small businesses afloat isn't just an issue for their entrepreneur owners; it is integral to the economic health of the nation. Shachtman notes that 99 percent of the businesses in this country have fewer than 500 employees, and that these small businesses were the source of two-thirds of the new jobs in the late '80s and early '90s. In fact, from 1980 to 1990, companies with fewer than 20 employees generated 10 million new jobs, more than half of the new jobs created during that decade. Unlike a major plant or firm, a collection of small businesses cannot pick up and move or suddenly shut its doors—good news for the stability of the community. Besides, small business owners are directly invested in the welfare of the community, and the profits they earn stay there.

"The current emphases on big business and on high technology as the routes to a stable economic future for this country seem now, after a year on the block, unfortunately narrow, wrong in emphasis, and perhaps misguided," Shachtman writes. "The personal scale of society will be lost; we will have a society in which decisions on the future of individuals will be made by corporations that are rewarded for rising stock prices and downsizing, not for job creation, and that ignore the health of the individuals who work for them and the neighborhoods in which they are located."

There are pieces missing in this portrait of a block. More information is needed about the salaries, benefits and job security gained or lost by the shift from manufacturing to service on the block. Among those who study economic development, it is axiomatic that manufacturing jobs are well paying, and the new service economy is a poor substitute. Are the shop clerks and "content providers" who now work on the block doing as well as their often unionized factory worker predecessors? Shachtman notes that many of the people who work on the block can't afford to live there—the janitors, dry cleaners, office clerks and waiters take the subway in from Brooklyn, Queens and the Bronx.

But he doesn't say whether work on the block still provides the trappings of a middle-class life that factory jobs did for previous generations.

The conflict between locally owned businesses and multinational companies hits Shachtman's story when a Blockbuster Video opens across from the locally owned Video Blitz. The chapter shows how Video Blitz's knowledgeable employees and specialized stock help it keep its customer base when competing against the giant store. Shachtman also discusses what might happen to the clerks at the megastore when battles to take over Blockbuster rage on Wall Street.

In an excellent chapter, Shachtman describes the fate of "public goods"—government services from mail delivery to public education—and their importance to small urban businesses. The effects of government spending cuts on local economies—especially in struggling inner-city neighborhoods—has gotten remarkably little attention. Shachtman illustrates that even middle-class communities such as Chelsea will feel repercussions. For example, at the St. Francis Residence III, a privately

run, single-room occupancy live-in hotel for the mentally ill, residents each receive \$300 a month from federal Social Security assistance, which adds up to about \$500,000 a year in sales for local businesses. That's a lot of money that helps keep businesses afloat.

To Shachtman, small businesses are the last, best hope for capitalism to serve a majority of people who have a wide variety of needs. He makes a convincing argument that personally run businesses can do everything from creating jobs to allowing minorities—racial, ideological or sexual—to prosper. *Around the Block* might not be an exhaustive primer on our current economy—too many subjects are brought up and not fully examined—but it does take macroeconomic issues that are generally reported with all the lofty height and clarity of a cloud and bring them back to earth by showing the effects on a community. ■

Carl Vogel is a freelance writer in Brooklyn, N.Y., and the former editor of The Neighborhood Works, a magazine that covers grass-roots solutions to urban issues.

One nation under anger, with fear and loathing for all

THE TRIUMPH OF MEANNESS

America's War Against Its Better Self

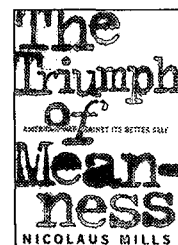
NICOLAUS MILLS

"Entirely persuasive and utterly chilling."

—Michael Walzer, Institute for Advanced Study

"This is a devastating critique of the cruelty of American life in the '90s."

—Richard Trumka, secretary-treasurer, AFL-CIO



At bookstores everywhere



Houghton Mifflin

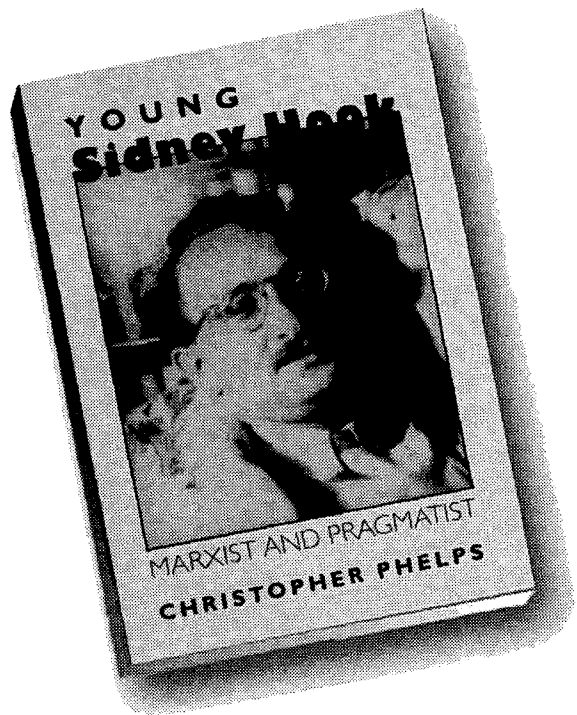
Independent publishers since 1832

Before Anti-communism

Young Sidney Hook: Marxist and Pragmatist

By Christopher Phelps
Cornell University Press
280 pp., \$35

REVIEWED BY JIM GILBERT



Sidney Hook was a presence on the American left for a major part of this century. Born in 1902 to Jewish immigrants, he became active as a young man in the Socialist Party. After earning his B.A. at City College of New York, he went on to Columbia University where he finished his doctorate under the philosopher John Dewey. For the rest of his life, as he moved in and out of one political movement after another, he attempted to reconcile philosophy and practical politics. From advocate to apostate of Marxism, his words always counted, whether he carried the standard of socialism and revolution or, in later life, denounced it.

Like other famous rebels who eventually came home to patriotism and conservatism, Hook's life is one of breathtaking intellectual twists and turns. He occupied, at one time or another, almost every intellectual position available on the left: Leninist, Trotskyist, right-wing Socialist plus several nuances between them. This was not an unusual itinerary: Max Eastman, James Burnham, Jay Lovestone and countless other radicals of the '20s and '30s fol-

lowed a similar pathway. Along the way, they wrote articles and polemics that were sometimes wildly wrong in their predictions and adamant where they should have been cautious, but sometimes they were stunningly right. Among this group, Sidney Hook stands practically alone for the seriousness of his thought and hence the gravity of his drift away from the left in the late '30s. No one else brought quite as much weight to either position; no one else had his self-confidence and mastery of argument.

Despite this interesting, and by some standards, emblematic role, Hook's early thought is relatively unknown because of the rigid anti-communism which characterized his later life. Even his own memories, collected in autobiographical works, tend to smooth out, overlook and obscure an intellectually adventurous youth. In old age, it's not uncommon to see one's life as a straight unfolding of a final (wise) political position. But no biographer can accept this sort of self-justification.

Fortunately, Christopher Phelps, in his persuasive new biography of young

Sidney Hook, accepts no such gloss. He strives, instead, to uncover the young philosopher and activist at the height of his powers. What he discovers is not just a brilliant interpreter of Marx and the Russian Revolution, but a remarkable advocate and practitioner of the Americanization of Marxism.

Hook did not find moments of class struggle in American history to prove Marx "right." Nor did he seek to identify himself with a "great tradition" of assorted writers and artists who have advocated some sort of left-wing populism. Instead, Phelps characterizes Hook as a young radical devoted to assimilating Marxism to the Pragmatism of John Dewey, the quintessential 20th century philosopher who advocated judging truth by the results. As one of the great American Pragmatists, along with Charles Saunders Pierce and William James, Dewey was noteworthy because of the intensity of his political interests.

Early on, Hook saw the relevance of Dewey's emphasis upon democracy and practicality and attempted to weave it into Marxist theory. Here Phelps pro-

poses an interesting and compelling argument that requires two lines of discussion. Phelps reads Hook's early works such as *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx: A Revolutionary Interpretation* (1933) as essays designed to incorporate the experimental bent of Pragmatism into the revolutionary and class-struggle prescriptions of Marx and Engels. At the same time, Phelps helps to reintegrate Dewey into the radical politics of the '20s and '30s as a sort of elder statesman of the American left. This, in addition to the argument for the intellectual affinities between Marxism and Pragmatism, makes the presentist point, which is one of Phelps's aims. Phelps hopes to create a useable past for our own time—when “popular power and social justice are again placed on the stage of history by egalitarian movements from below.”

While the biography follows Hook's ideas and activities carefully through the mid-'30s and explores the complex circuitry of his retreat from Marxism, Phelps is scarcely interested in the Sidney Hook who emerged after World War II. For one thing, he does not believe that Hook continued to grow and develop with anything like his earlier energy and aplomb. Moreover, Phelps contends, Hook's positions were not a logical outcome of his earlier ideas (as commentators who blame and praise his later positions have contended). Instead, Phelps finds that Hook repeatedly treads upon his own ideas as he dances away from revolutionary Marxism, denying today what he affirmed yesterday. Hook becomes uninteresting and simple to the author when the philosopher equates fascism and communism as examples of totalitarianism. At that point, Phelps argues, Hook not only abandoned Marxism because he saw no difference in the class nature of fascism and communism but also Pragmatism because he adopted abstract dogma instead of a scientifically useful tool of analysis. In a way, this is the most serious accusation one could make against Hook: that he had given up Pragmatism as a philosophy.

This reconstruction of Hook's early life and philosophy reveals several important facets of the young philoso-

pher's evolution. The first was his astute presentation of Marxism as a revolutionary philosophy that was nonetheless engaged pragmatically in the practical world. This orientation, plus Hook's acute insights into left-wing politics in the '20s and '30s, makes him a valuable participant and observer of radical movements on the American scene during these years. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is how Phelps rescues Hook from the shadows of the '30s—cast by himself as well as his detractors. Surprisingly, Hook remained a revolutionary Leninist for several years and then a sympathizer of Trotsky for several more. It was, apparently, only the pressures of the Moscow Trials, the assassination of Trotsky and the German-Soviet Pact of 1939 that finally broke his allegiance with most movements of the American left.

As much as this engaging book is worthy of admiration, Phelps should have spent more time explaining some of his major points. In rescuing the young Hook from himself, his enemies and his admirers, Phelps has certainly done a good turn historically. He has not, however, made a convincing case for how Hook's intellectual and activist past is a genuinely relevant example for the present. This is true for several reasons. It is not clear, for example, how Hook's early insights might be relevant to contemporary America—how they would intersect with the world as it is now. This problem, in turn, results from an incomplete discussion of the relationships between Marxism and Pragmatism. Phelps asserts this link, but a more thorough discussion would have been very useful since they are complex philosophic systems that are both complementary and contradictory. Finally, the explanation of Hook's retreat from radicalism, his “failures of nerve,” is not satisfying. Having tried to explain Hook's transformation—and a similar ideological shift in other thinkers—Phelps encountered inevitable problems and pitfalls. In an insight into the dynamic of this change, Phelps points out that Hook continued to think of himself as a Marxist and radical when most observers concluded the contrary. That his belief led him in the opposite direction, toward conservatism, is one of the fundamental ironies of Amer-

ican left politics.

Since this is an intellectual biography, much of the transformation in Hook's life takes place off-stage. Because of this, we primarily see Hook taking positions and articulating decisions perhaps made elsewhere.

These hesitations are not meant, however, to detract from Phelps's achievement. He persuades us that we need to look carefully again at Sidney Hook and even more carefully at the history of American Pragmatism. ■

James Gilbert is a professor of history at the University of Maryland and author of Redeeming Culture: American Religion in an Age of Science.

U.S. Postal Service Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation

1. *In These Times* 2. 0160-5992 3. September 30, 1997 4. Bi-weekly 5. 26 6. \$36.95 7. 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, IL (Cook Co.) 60647-4002 8. James Weinstein 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, IL (Cook Co.) 60647-4002 9. Paul Obis 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, IL (Cook Co.) 60647-4002; James Weinstein 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, IL (Cook Co.) 60647-4002; Deidre McFadyen 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, IL (Cook Co.) 60647-4002 10. Institute for Public Affairs (Nonprofit Organization) 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, IL (Cook Co.) 60647-4002 11. None 12. Has not changed during preceding 12 months 13. *In These Times* 14. October 19, 1997 15a. 16,684; 15,800 15b (1). 1,713; 3,061 15b(2). 12,936; 12,067 15c. 14,649; 15,128 15d. 150; 150 15e. 0; 0 15f. 150; 150 15g. 14,799; 15,278 15h(1). 744; 522 15h(2). 1,141; 0 i. 16,684; 15,800 16. Nov. 2, 1997 17. (signed) Paul Obis, Publisher September 30, 1997.



Wizards of Media Oz

By Norman Solomon and Jeff Cohen
Common Courage Press
294 pp., \$15.95

REVIEWED BY CARL VOGEL

Maybe we should blame the messenger. After all, the media—from newspaper columns to network news—decide which stories are breaking news, which need a dose of investigative journalism and what is the “conventional wisdom.” The daily news is the grist for public consensus, so determining which stories and views are covered shapes the society in which we live.

As Norman Solomon and Jeff Cohen point out in their new collection of columns, *Wizards of Media Oz*, the mainstream media have missed or ignored stories about everything from the U.S. role in political torture in Central America to union-busting practices across the country. We’re only hearing part of the story, and the part we aren’t hearing includes the CIA’s connection to crack cocaine, how homophobia has helped spread AIDS and why the Clean Air Act isn’t being strictly enforced.

The skewed coverage is hardly surprising. The authors document how conservative our media really is in all-too-depressing detail: the constriction of corporate ownership that followed the passage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act, the lack of racial and gender representation in the newsroom, a move to the right on the nation’s Op-Ed pages and at PBS, and the huge speaking fees paid to star reporters by big industry.

Solomon, who writes a syndicated column, “Media Beat,” and Cohen, founder and executive director of Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), write in a lively style with plenty of

facts to back their claims. Unfortunately, the format of the book—reprinted columns—means each subject is only given a page or two and the basic facts become repetitive. However, as an introduction to the industry that paints our picture of the world, this book brings the message home. ■

Red Dirt: Growing up Okie

By Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz
Verso
224 pp., \$25

REVIEWED BY PAT ARNOW

Historian Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz has written a personal memoir that provides an insightful look at her own life and a richly textured portrait of a place and time not often examined.

Dunbar-Ortiz was born in 1938 to a sharecropper father and a mother who never acknowledged her American Indian heritage. The family remained in Oklahoma after so many others fled from the drought that turned the state into a dustbowl.

Red Dirt has its stock characters: a father who sits at the tavern to avoid his unsatisfactory home life, a mother resentful of her poverty and a dashing older brother constantly at odds with his father. Thankfully, Dunbar-Ortiz doesn’t try to describe the people around her as consistent or entirely understandable. Her mother is described as both a hard-drinking, child-beating monster *and* a courageous den mother who tells off the official who won’t allow girls in the Cub Scout troop. Ambiguities are fine here.

A political perspective adds a significant dimension to the personal story. As a child, the author hears tales about her grandfather, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, which was part of

a powerful Oklahoma populist movement in the early part of the century. The red scare of the ’50s sends Dunbar-Ortiz’s association with her own political heritage far underground. Later, a couple of inspirational teachers and a move to California renew her pride and curiosity in her past. She begins to look at her Oklahoma, Scotch-Irish and Indian heritage in a new way. *Red Dirt* is part of that process. ■

Facing the Mirror: Older Women and Beauty Shop Culture

By Frida Kerner Furman
Routledge
224 pp., \$16.95

REVIEWED BY AMANDA HIBER

In *Facing the Mirror*, an ethnographic study of a Chicago beauty salon and its clientele of mostly Jewish older women, Frida Kerner Furman is often writing to the women she interviewed rather than about them. Her approach probably gives the women at the shop a warm, fuzzy glow, but it lacks a revealing critical analysis.

A professor of religious and women’s studies at DePaul University, Furman explores the women’s experience of aging and the ways they interpret, respond and adapt to becoming virtually invisible in society. She writes that the beauty shop is a woman-centered, empowering place, which serves as a site for resistance to the sexism and ageism of the dominant culture.

Most of this book contains conversations with the women in the beauty shop followed by well-worn feminist analysis. Her treatment is at times overly sentimental, but what Furman gives us in *Facing the Mirror* is hard to come by: a mostly jargon-free chronicle of an oft-ignored population. ■

Glassifieds

HELP WANTED

OPERATIONS MANAGER—Sales management and merchandising experience required. Skilled at margin control. Excellent personnel management ability. Knowledge of natural foods industry preferred. Send résumé to: Gentle Strength Co-op, 234 W. University, Tempe, AZ 85281.

IN THESE TIMES seeks volunteer editorial interns with a strong interest in progressive politics and independent publishing to work two days a week at our Chicago offices. The internship consists primarily of fact-checking, but it may also include some research, reporting, proofreading, writing and administrative tasks. Send cover letter, résumé and clips (optional) to: Craig Aaron, assistant editor, *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

JEWISH CURRENTS

October, 1997 Issue

"Albright to Israel for Peace," editorial; "L'Shanah Tovah in the Canadian Rockies," Richard D. Bank; "A Succoth Remembrance," James M. Baumann; "A Celebration of Jackie Robinson," Henry Foner; "Mordecai Gebirtig, 1877-1942," Gerald Stillman.

Single issue: \$3 (USA).
Subscription: \$30 yearly (USA).

JEWISH CURRENTS

Dept. T, Suite 601,
22 E. 17 St., New York, NY 10003

IN THESE TIMES seeks part-time advertising interns with an interest in progressive politics and independent publishing. Internship consists of assisting Advertising Director in contacting advertisers, promotional planning, media kit design, new business campaign and special 21st anniversary issue. Contact: Patricia Gray, *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. (773) 772-0100, ext. 236; fax (773) 772-4180.

PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL UNION based in Denver needs secretary with administrative assistant skills to work with organizing director. Union background preferred. Salary \$32-38K plus excellent benefits. Send résumé to: Organizing Dept. OCAW, P.O. Box 281200, Lakewood, CO 80228; fax (303) 987-1967. No phone calls please.

RETHINKING SCHOOLS publication seeks experienced person for grant-writing and publishing. Excellent communication, writing and organizational skills required. Education background preferred.

UNION ORGANIZERS

The Health Professionals and Allied Employees (HPAE), a progressive health care union, is seeking organizers for health care organizing in New Jersey and Philadelphia. Union or related community organizing experience a must. Good salary and benefits. Send/Fax résumé to: HP AE/AFT (Attn: Organizing Director) 110 Kinderkamack Rd., Emerson, NJ 07630, Fax # (201) 262-4335.

Generous benefits. Résumé to: Rethinking Schools, 1001 E. Keefe Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53212. 1-800-669-4192. EOE.

ORGANIZERS FOR COMMUNITY-based power organizations. Position involves organizing poor and working-class people to combat corporate and political power at the local, regional and state level through institution-based organizing and strategic action. Must be self-motivated, systematic thinker with a deep desire to transform America. Positions available at all levels in a variety of major metropolitan areas. Pay is commensurate with experience, \$25-58 K a year. Send résumés to the Gamaliel Foundation, 203 North Wabash #808, Chicago, IL 60601. Fax: (312) 357-6735. Gamaliel@frontiernet.net.

ORGANIZER/ACTIVIST with NJ Citizen Action, state's largest consumer watchdog coalition, working on multi-issue campaigns. Qualifications: experience in community, student, church, political organizing; good writing, phone & computer skills; interest in health

care or lead poisoning prevention a plus. Car required. Salary high 20s, plus good benefits. Résumé: AW, NJCA, 400 Main Street, Hackensack, NJ 07601.

COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. Join over 50,000 job-seekers in reading a unique monthly publication containing more than 200 new job listings (in Environment, Arts, International, Health, Youth, Civil Rights, Housing, Human Services, etc.). Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles of nonprofit organizations and the people who found them. Contact: Community Jobs, 1001 Connecticut Ave. NW, Ste. 838, Wash., DC 20036.

PUBLICATIONS

DOCUMENTS OF FREEDOM—Impressive reproductions of the Constitution, Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence. Each document 11"x18" on elegant faux parchment. Authentic look and feel. Complete set—\$10.00 plus \$3.95 shipping. D.O.F., 1096 Toro Canyon Rd., Santa Barbara, CA 93108.

IN THESE TIMES BACK ISSUES—Did you miss out on our Globalization Issue? Your spouse threw the Summer Reading issue into the recycling bin before you got to it? Don't worry. Back issues of *In These Times* are available for just \$5 a copy. Send check or money order to *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60647.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

SPANISH, CULTURE, TOURS, at Escuela Azteca. Summer in beautiful Cuernavaca. \$220 two weeks. Intensive grammar all levels. Weekend tours. Minicourses with Ross Gandy, Ph.D. (Mexico: Reform or Revolution?). Live with Mexican family. For brochure: call (52-73)-15-24-69. Address: ESCUELA AZTECA, Apdo. Postal 76-005; 04201 Mexico, D.F.

A PEOPLE VACATION in beautiful Guatemala. Personalized Spanish classes at indigenous-owned school. Volunteer oppor-

CHIAPAS

CHALLENGING HISTORY

INDIGENOUS VIEWPOINTS ON
THE POLITICAL
SITUATION IN SOUTHERN MEXICO

SPECIAL EDITION OF *AKWE:KON JOURNAL*.
SINGLE ISSUE: \$14.00 PPD. ONE-YEAR SUBSCRIPTION: \$18.00 (U.S.) CHECK/VISA/MC TO:
300-IT CALDWELL HALL,

tunities. Fantastic excursions. R&B with local family plus 5 hrs/day of classes is \$130/wk. Contact CBA, 1432 Elizabeth Street, Lexington, KY 40503, (606) 278-5008. E-mail pwuff@uky.campus.mci.net.

SPANISH IN GUANAJUATO—Two weeks, \$255. Instituto Falcon, Jorge Barroso, Mora 158, Guanajuato, Gto 36000, Mexico. Ph./Fax: (473) 2-36-94. <http://www.infonet.com.mx/falcon>.

AIR PURIFICATION

ENVIRTECH PRODUCTS, INC. "No filter" air purification systems that reduce dust, mold, VOC's, pollen, bacteria, smoke and odors. Retail \$495-\$995. Units for homes, offices, cars and commercial. Phone (303) 469-4537; FAX (303) 469-0421.

BUMPER STICKERS

"DON'T BLAME ME, I VOTED FOR RALPH," \$2.50. NY resi-

MO—19th Annual Paper in Particular National Juried Competition

Works on/of paper. Juror Nancy Bandy. Slides Deadline, November 14, 1997. Accepted works deadline—January 23, 1998. Open to USA artists. Medium—on/of paper. \$15 entry fee. Limited to three 35mm slides. Award—one person show at Columbia College. Contact: Ed Collings, Paper in Particular, Columbia College, 1001 Rogers, Columbia, MO 65216. Ph. (573) 875-7521.

dents add 8.25% sales tax. M.A.R.S. Services, P.O. Box 796, Bridgehampton, NY 11932.

MISCELLANEOUS

FREE CASH GRANTS! College. Scholarships. Business. Medical bills. Never Repay. Toll Free 1-800-218-9000 Ext. G-3077.

SEIZED CARS from \$175. Porsches, Cadillacs, Chevys,

BMW's, Corvettes. Also Jeeps, 4WD's. Your area. Toll free (800) 218-9000, Ext. A-3077 for current listings.

FOR SALE

Two 17" monochrome Apple monitors. Both are in good working order and include necessary video cards. \$125 each, or \$200 for both. Call (773) 772-0100, ext. 239.

CARS/TRUCKS/COMPUTERS—Fantastic Deals! Inside Information on surplus auctions! Your Area! 1-800-601-2212, ext. SP6055.

PERSONALS

EROTIC, INTELLIGENT, imaginative conversation—Discreet, personal and pleasurable. Please inquire (617) 661-3849.

PALESTINE & ISRAEL

January 15-25, 1998

Peace process? Occupation? Hear the grassroots voices on both sides. Visit the West Bank, Gaza & Golan Heights.

GLOBAL EXCHANGE • 800-497-1994

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER

links compatible singles who care about peace, social justice, gender equity, racism and the environment.

Nationwide. Since 1984. All ages.

FREE SAMPLE: Box 444-IT.

Lenox Dale, MA 01242. ☎ (413) 445-6309; or at <http://www.concernedsingles.com>

IRREVERENT! OUTRAGEOUS! ORIGINAL!

Perfect Gift for one who's "heard it all and had it up to here!"

Here's a sample of what you'll get - America:

Land of the Fee and Home of the Rave.

Atom Bomb:

Made in America; tested in Japan.

Born-Again Christian:

You'd have thought once was enough.

Creationism:

I believe in Creationism: Man created God.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

To err is Truman.

Marriage:

The chief cause of divorce.

Missionaries:

First they fell on their knees, then on the aborigines.

Pat Robertson:

A man of the cloth - cashmere.

A Contrarian's Dictionary: 2000 Damnable Definitions for the Year 2000

by Murray L. Bob

To get your copy, send \$11.95 plus \$4.00 s & h to:

Contrarian Press
Dept. I, 571 Front Street
Jamestown, NY 14701



Thomas Paine

VIDEOCASSETTE

This educational, "very informative," and "fascinating" 40-minute video, written and hosted by Thomas Paine Scholar Carl Shapiro, was telecast via cable TV throughout northern New Jersey in the spring of 1992. In this original, unedited video, the essential meaning of Paine's extraordinary career as revolutionary writer and foremost exponent of democratic principles is recounted in a presentation "sure in its content" and clear in its delivery. A discussion of little-known but significant incidents in Paine's life adds immeasurably to this memorable video.

VHS cassette, \$25.00 ppd. (USA)

INDEPENDENT PUBLICATIONS, P.O. BOX 102, RIDGEFIELD, NJ 07657

IN THESE TIMES classified ads work like your own sales force.

WORD RATES:

95¢ per word / 1-2 issues
85¢ per word / 3-5 issues
80¢ per word / 6-9 issues
75¢ per word / 10-19 issues
65¢ per word / 20 + issues

DISPLAY INCH RATES:

\$30 per inch / 1-2 issues
\$28 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$26 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$24 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$22 per inch / 20 + issues

Classified ads must be prepaid. Send your copy, coupon and payment to:
IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.
Or FAX your ad with VISA or Mastercard number to 773-772-4180.

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ for _____ issue(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

President Clinton's ultimate goal of a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, every large city in the hemisphere will sport almost identical shopping malls with almost identical products at almost identical prices. "What a great country!" will become "What a great hemisphere!"

3 Chile: Ripe for the Picking

If President Clinton is granted fast track authority, the next nation to share the fruits of NAFTA will be Chile, a country overflowing with pristine forests, abundant fishing grounds, unexploited minerals and prime farm lands. The great statesman Henry Kissinger once said of Chile's elected socialist government: "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people." We add: "We don't see why a country's natural resources should go unexploited due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

4 Cheap Underwear

Global competition without social protections is keeping the children of the Western Hemisphere out of trouble, as more and more of them get to work overtime in apparel sweatshops. Already, the Labor Department estimates that half of the 22,000 apparel facilities in the United States have sweatshop conditions as well. The result: Consumers get cheaper underwear while American workers (including some of their children) strive to remain competitive in a dog-eat-dog global economy.

5 Tourist Heaven

Before NAFTA, Mexico was OK as a vacation spot, but the peso was overvalued, so tourists had to hunt for really good bargains. Then NAFTA came along, and within a year the peso was in a free fall. For American tourists, this has meant that their greenbacks now buy more piña coladas and tequila at plush Mexican resorts, walled off securely from the country's explosion of crime. Book your flight to Chile now!

6 Ski Mask Exports

To prepare for NAFTA, Mexico changed its constitution to put community-owned agricultural lands on the open market. This helped spark the uprising of thousands of Mayan Indians in the southern Mexico state of Chiapas on the day NAFTA went into effect. To conceal their identities from Mexican authorities, most of the rebels took to wearing ski masks in public. With no natural market for ski masks in the tropics, we strongly suspect that they're coming from the United States, creating at least five or six U.S.-based jobs, although we haven't been able to find anyone in the Commerce Department who can verify this.

7 Democracy on the Rise

NAFTA supporters told us free trade would beget democracy, and they sure were on target. Mexicans turned out in record numbers in July to vote against the party that was responsible for NAFTA. As a result, the ruling party lost control of the lower house of Congress for the first time in 68 years. To what do we owe the end of the dominance of the ruling party? Free trade!

Polls show a majority of Americans oppose free trade. Luckily, these people don't determine trade policy. Politicians do, and many of them can be bought. Of course, our new friends in the corporate community figured this out a long time ago and have been busy building up their purchasing power. The Business Roundtable has organized six Fortune 500 CEOs to pledge \$100,000 apiece for the NAFTA expansion crusade and are asking other firms to do likewise.

Note: We deny accusations that our shift on this issue has anything to do with a crass strategy to improve our corporate fundraising potential. However, businesses interested in contributing to IPS's "NAFTA: Let's Make It Global" campaign can call our new fast track fundraising number, 1-900-IPS-CASH. After all, creating a good political environment for free trade isn't cheap. ■

Sarah Anderson and John Cavanagh are in charge of the Global Economy Project and corporate giving at the Institute for Policy Studies.

Help us ship the NUTS out of Georgia!



PECANS • PEANUTS • GRANOLA
CHOCOLATE NUT BARK • CAROB
PEACHCAKE • PIES • FRUITCAKE

Begun in 1942 as an interracial farming community in rural Georgia, Koinonia Partners survived decades of shootings, fire-bombings and economic boycotts for its radical Christian demonstration of the brotherhood and sisterhood of all humanity. Today, supported by contributions and the sale of our homegrown and home-made delicacies, we continue as a non-profit organization dedicated to the eradication of poverty in all its ugliness.

For a free catalog or to visit, call 1-800-569-4128
www.koinoniapartners.org

"What the poor need is not charity, but capital, not caseworkers, but co-workers..." Clarence Jordan, founder, 1968

News
Flash!

In the end

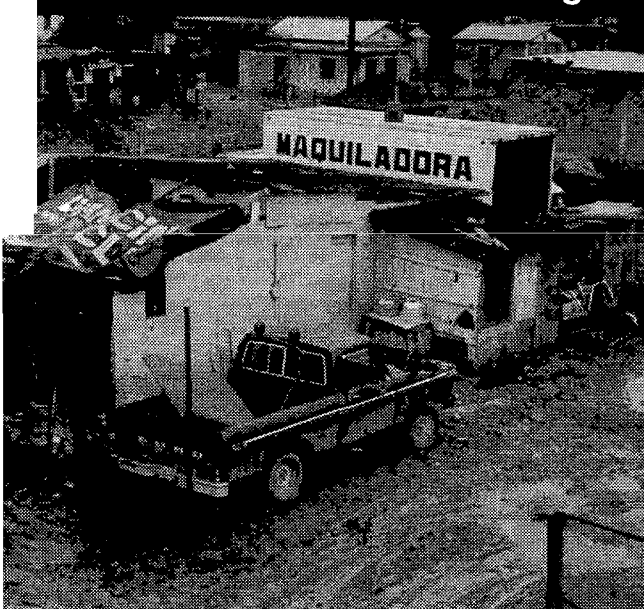
Support NAFTA
expansion by contributing
to the Institute for Policy
Studies' **"NAFTA: Let's
Make It Global"**
Campaign.
Call 1-900-IPS-CASH

Progressive Think Tank

SWITCHES SIDES

on Free Trade

by Sarah Anderson and John Cavanagh



For the past several years, Institute for Policy Studies researchers have released reports critical of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In a dramatic shift based on a careful examination of new data, we have decided that Bill Clinton and the Fortune 500 have been right all along: NAFTA is good for America. As Congress debates whether to give the president fast track authority to negotiate NAFTA expansion and other trade deals, here are seven new reasons to support it.

1 Jobs, Jobs, Jobs

President Clinton promised that NAFTA would create high-quality U.S. jobs, and, boy, was he right. U.S. border patrol agents, for example, have gotten a big boost from the surge in immigration driven by Mexico's skyrocketing poverty and unemployment in the wake of NAFTA. Thanks to increased funds, we'll soon have more Americans policing the border than working for Apple Computer, Hormel Foods or Polaroid.

2 Mall of the Americas

Ever venture into a foreign department store and been unable to find the latest Sega Saturn software or a good old bag of Chips Ahoy? Ever search in vain for a Taco Bell and have to settle instead for a *tortilleria*? Worry no more. With

Continued on page 37